

ely Articles by George Meany, Harry Bales, John W. Livingston, Emil Mazey and Nelson Cruikshank

AFL CIO



*American*

# FEDERATIONIST

MAY 1956

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*The Charters of Our Freedom*

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE • THE CONSTITUTION • THE BILL OF RIGHTS

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON, D. C.



*“Don’t forget the union meeting tonight.”*

Free trade unions are an essential part of the democratic way of life. In a democracy each individual has a responsibility to do his part. In a democracy it is the duty of each member of an organization to take a genuine interest in the affairs of that organization. Leaving your tasks for others to do is not the democratic way.

Are you fulfilling your obligations as a trade unionist by attending meetings regularly? Or are you neglectful? You

can’t be a good trade unionist unless you are a good citizen first—and a good citizen does not fail to attend meetings.

Do your share to make democracy live. Take a genuine interest in the affairs of your union. Study the organization’s problems. Bring new members into the fold. And attend union meetings regularly. This is the democratic way—and it is also the sensible and practical way to build and strengthen your trade union.

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# FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

MAY, 1956

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

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## *Friendship*

A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fullness and swellings of the heart, which passions of all kinds do cause and induce. This communicating of a man's self to his friend works two contrary effects. It redoubleth joys and cutteth griefs in halves. Friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections, from storms and tempests; but it maketh daylight in the understanding, out of darkness and confusion of thoughts.

Neither is this to be understood only of faithful counsel which a man receiveth from his friend; but before you come to that, certain it is that whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up, in the communicating and discoursing with another; he tosseth his thoughts more easily; he marshalleth them more orderly; he seeth how they look when they are turned into words: finally, he waxeth wiser than himself; and that more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation.

There is as much difference between the counsel that a friend giveth and that a man giveth himself as there is between the counsel of a friend and of a flatterer. For there is no such flatterer as is a man's self, and there is no such remedy against flattery of a man's self as the liberty of a friend. It is a strange thing to behold what gross errors and extreme absurdities many (especially of the greater sort) do commit for want of a friend to tell them of them, to the great damage both of their fame and fortune.

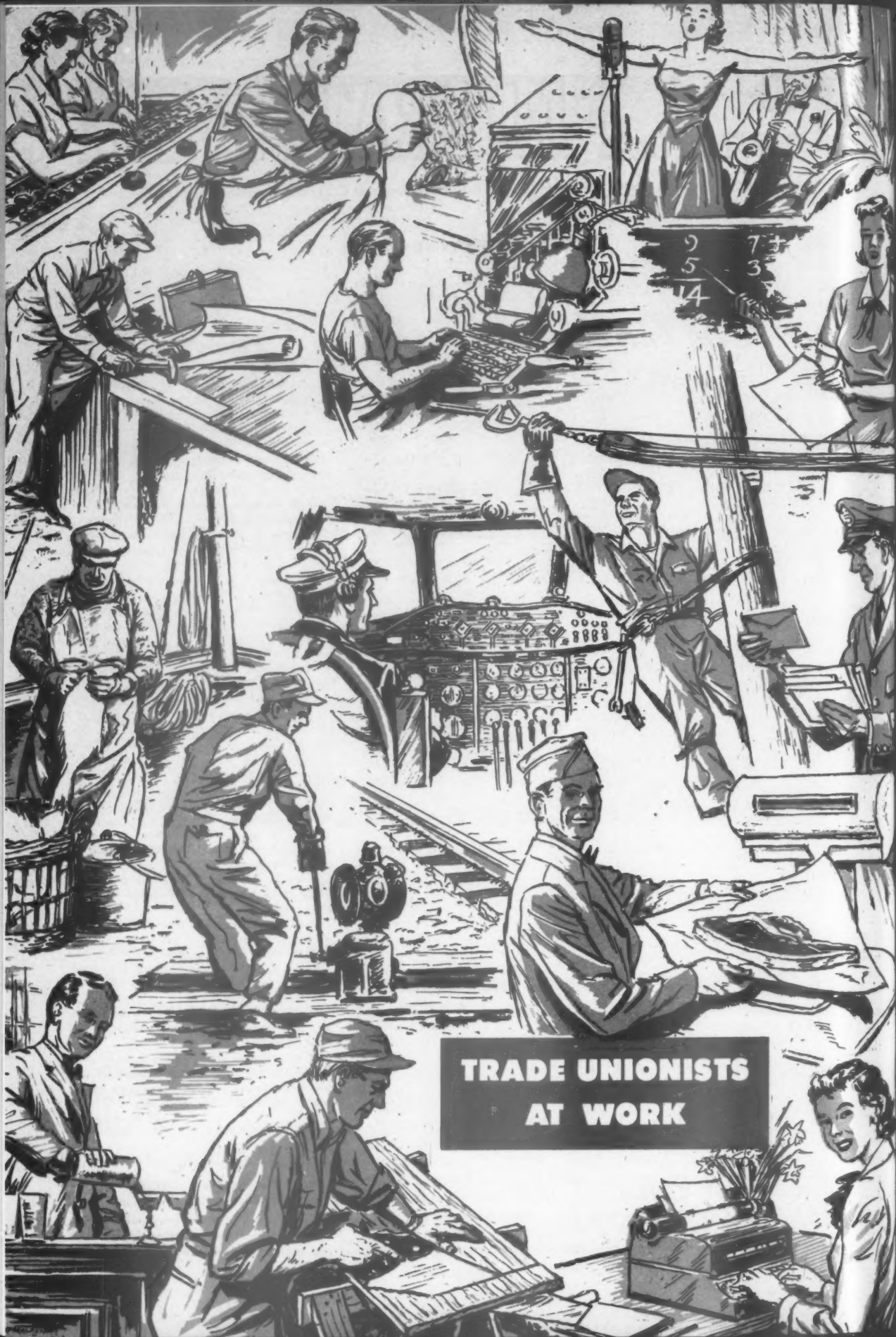
How many things are there which a man cannot, with any face or comeliness, say or do himself? A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them; a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate or beg; and a number of the like. But all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth which are blushing in a man's own.

A man cannot speak to his son but as a father; to his wife but as a husband; to his enemy but upon terms: whereas a friend may speak as the case requires.

*Francis Bacon.*

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## TRADE UNIONISTS AT WORK

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# WE WILL DO THE JOB

By JOHN W. LIVINGSTON  
*AFL-CIO Director of Organization*

**W**HATEVER the labor movement has meant over the years—and it has meant different things to different groups and persons—on one thing there has been agreement. It has always meant the organizing of the unorganized. It still means that.

Organizing is recognized as an indisputably proper function of organized labor. Even those who hate to see labor grow cannot advance a sound reason for its not trying.

The fact that growth depends upon continuous organization is self-evident. Less obvious—but equally true—is the fact that relaxation on the organizing front is accompanied by organizational deterioration. This has always been the case; there is no evidence to indicate that any other consequence will follow now or in the future. There is no such thing as organizational status quo; to accept it is to move backward.

In New York last December the representatives of two great labor federations demonstrated their recognition of that fact. They proclaimed their rejection of organizational status quo by ending their separate identities and blasting into history twenty years of warfare. To organize the still unorganized—that was the most compelling reason for the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

There was a sense of urgency underlying that merger. There was a sense of crisis. There was a realization that today labor is facing its greatest challenge to date.

To say that organized labor today confronts its greatest challenge may seem just an institutional expression, like Frank Leahy's predictions that his team would surely lose this week's game. At every major stage in the history of the American labor movement, its leaders have believed and have stated that labor was facing, in



MR. LIVINGSTON

their time, its most formidable challenge. It is not difficult, however, to make an overwhelming case to the effect that today's crisis surpasses those of previous times, especially as it relates to organizing.

**T**HE forces opposing organization today are less obvious in their methods than those over whom we triumphed in the past, but they are neither less dangerous nor less effective. The cobra does not advertise its attack, but its venom is no less deadly than that of the rattlesnake.

In the past, labor spies, company detectives and goon squads were used on a widespread basis as one form of forceful opposition. The same holds true for the notorious yellow-dog contracts and blacklists. Nowhere in the pages of the past, however, can even the best informed labor historian reveal labor foes whose methods equal in danger today's sinister combination of hostile legislation administered by industry's hand-picked puppets in a program of defeat-by-delay geared to halt labor's organizational gains. This one-two punch of legislation plus adminis-

trative decree backed up by anti-labor state courts has probably done more to deter labor's organizational progress than all the goons and spies of the past.

The pattern of defiance which characterizes the actions of major government agencies in their relationship with unions has been noticeable ever since the Cadillac caravan descended on Washington after the 1952 elections.

The late Martin Durkin could not, in honor and good conscience, endure it. There has been nothing of recent date to indicate a change in those policies which led to his resignation. As a matter of fact, it now appears that one of the best ways to get favorable treatment for defense orders is to take on a union in a long, bitter strike. It is not unusual today to see strike-bound companies awarded lush defense contracts, thereby making every taxpayer theoretically a party to crossing picket lines.

The same government attitudes which so deftly whittle away at unions are just as active in aiding big industry to establish union-resisting citadels. With the aid of special tax treatment and promises of low-wage labor markets, big management finds it financially worthwhile to evacuate unionized plants of long standing to move into these union-free paradises where long hours and low wages become something more than an employer's dream.

It is no wonder that the area of the nation where the greatest unrest exists today is that area where "Northern" capital has been invited to take advantage of low-wage and unorganized labor markets of the South.

The fear and prejudice which the white supremacist in the South exploited in the past in order to maintain his form of slavery are the same fear and prejudice which transplanted Northern *(Continued on Page 31)*

# The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

*by George Meany*

**T**HE TWENTIETH CONGRESS of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is of special importance for two reasons: It brought into focus changes in the international policies of communism; it brought into bold relief some modifications in the methods of the Russian Communist Party regime.

## I

### *Changes in International Policies of Communism*

The most significant of these changes are the following:

A. There was propounded the theory that wars are no longer inevitable and, consequently, co-existence is possible.

B. There was advanced the theory that there can be different forms of transition to socialism.

C. There was put forward the theory that, in certain circumstances, the conquest of power by the Communist Party can be accomplished peacefully, without civil war.

D. The strongest emphasis was placed on the need to return to united front and popular front tactics.

#### *A. War and Co-Existence*

The twentieth congress line does not constitute a fundamental change in regard to this question. Lenin's thesis that, as long as imperialism continues, the economic basis for war exists, was emphasized by the twentieth congress. This "theory," together with the doctrine of the inevitability of economic crises under capitalism, is the keystone of the Communist doctrine of the necessity to overthrow capitalism. The twentieth congress shifted the emphasis to the possibility of averting war through political action by the "peace-loving" forces in non-Communist countries—the forces supported by the Soviet Empire. This shift aims at furthering a large-scale Soviet "peace" offensive on the diplomatic field—particularly in the so-called uncommitted countries and among workers and intellectuals in the West.

#### *B. Roads to Socialism*

In respect to this problem, the twentieth congress gave

a "theoretical" formulation for the policies and practice already carried out in the so-called "people's democracies," in Communist China and in Yugoslavia where the methods applied in building a "Socialist" society have not always followed exactly the Soviet pattern—though there exists identity in regard to the fundamental features of the system (one-party system, forced collectivization, industrialization based on slave labor methods, etc.).

#### *C. 'Peaceful' Conquest of Power*

In this connection the twentieth congress raised to a major theory an idea already expressed by Lenin. At the same time, the Soviet leaders emphasized that, even if and when the Communists do seize power, through parliamentary means, their goals remain the same—dictatorship of the proletariat and establishment of the Soviet type of "socialism." The fact that Czechoslovakia was cited as the example of the "peaceful" road to socialism and that this citation was combined with old-style attacks on Social-Democratic "reformism" show that Communist parties outside the Iron Curtain will not abandon their subversive tactics and their resort to violence.

#### *D. Back to the Popular Front*

The twentieth congress marked the vigorous renewal of the Communist united front and popular front tactics of the mid-Thirties. Lest we forget, these were the tactics which, as is well known, were followed by the Stalin-Hitler Pact and by active Comintern support to the Nazis. By proclaiming this "new" line in the international policies of communism, the Soviet leaders hope to convince public opinion in the non-Communist countries of the peaceful intentions and methods of communism. They hope, thereby, to make Communists respectable in the eyes of the free world and, at the same time, to undermine the vigilance and the military, political and moral strength of the West. Clearly, this "new" Communist program formulated by the twentieth con-

gress is a grave threat to the free world. To meet this threat, the West, especially its free labor movement, must carefully study the "new" Communist doctrine, enlighten public opinion about its real meaning, and reject and thwart Communist united front and popular front maneuvers.

## II

### **Changes in Form of Soviet Party Rule Analyzed**

The decisions regarding the Soviet party system were the most important actions of the twentieth congress. As already shown by events inside the Soviet Union and in the Communist Parties abroad, these decisions will have a tremendous impact on the future of the Soviet regime and on the future of communism throughout the world.

These changes in party rule took the form of a condemnation of the "cult of the individual" and proclamation of the principle of "collective leadership." Even without Mikoyan's speech and the "secret" talk by Khrushchev—widely reported in the press—it was clear that the attacks against the "cult of the individual" were aimed at the late Stalin. To date, these attacks have been aimed primarily against Stalin's role as party boss—especially against his attitude toward his co-workers in the leading bodies of the party, the government and the army. Of course, all of these leaders—if they are still alive—are in the ruling group at the helm of the Communist Party. Thus, some of the high-ranking victims of his terror policy have been rehabilitated in order to demonstrate the big "change." But the twentieth congress did not condemn the terror system as such. The question arises: Was Stalin mad (as stated by Khrushchev in his secret talk) when he ordered that Tukachevsky and the other Red Army generals be shot as traitors? And was Stalin sane when he ordered that Zinoviev, Bukharin, etc., should be executed (as implied by Khrushchev in his report to the twentieth congress)? What about the mass terror directed against the millions of peasants, workers and entire ethnic groups and communities of people? These and similar vital questions the twentieth congress did not dare even to hint at, let alone consider and face.

However, Stalinism was not merely a terror system. During the thirty years in which Stalin ruled the Soviet Union, he dictated the entire Soviet policy in the domestic, economic and foreign fields. Stalin's name is indissolubly connected with (1) forced collectivization, (2) industrialization based on the most brutal exploitation of the workers and the mounting misery of the entire Russian people, (3) introduction of slave labor on a vast and permanent scale, (4) the totalitarian constitution of 1936, (5) ruthless anti-labor legislation, (6) savage oppression and persecution of national minorities (including mass deportations), (7) the Hitler-Stalin Pact, (8) aggressive Soviet imperialism in the postwar period, (9) "coordination" of the Communist parties abroad, (10) the intensification and expansion of the cold war, combined with a hypocritical peace offensive as its camouflage.

*Was Stalin sane in formulating and carrying out these policies? Will these policies be continued after the twentieth congress? Undoubtedly many people in Russia will ask themselves these and similar questions. Certainly the peoples of the free world must ask themselves such questions. We must do everything to prevent the present Moscow regime from getting away with attacking only those aspects of Stalin's rule and policies which affected the internal party regime of which they themselves were so important a part and which today could only hinder their own policy. Revision by the present Kremlin clique of the "Short Course of the Bolshevik Party" and "Economic Problems of Socialism"—which until very recently were Communist "bibles"—is not sufficient. The entire domestic and foreign policy of Stalin is at stake. *The so-called collective leadership of Khrushchev is not breaking with but actually continuing all these Stalinist policies.**

A whole series of questions raised by the demotion of Stalin relates to the past role of his present critics. The latter cannot deny their own active participation in Stalin's crimes. *Why did they not oppose him?* Khrushchev is said to have maintained in his secret speech that they feared for their lives and, therefore, did not oppose Stalin. *This means that, in order to save their own lives, Khrushchev and his colleagues now ruling Russia helped to murder millions of innocent, defenseless men, women and children. Moreover, the present Kremlin rulers publicly defended and glorified these horrible deeds and praised Stalin as the originator and executor of these anti-human criminal deeds.* By their own admission, Khrushchev and his Presidium are now exposed as ruthless murderers, craven cowards, incorrigible liars and bootlickers. On the basis of their own revelations, the present Moscow rulers stand morally condemned. They have convicted themselves as unfit to be the leaders of a great people. Their records as Stalin's henchmen and loyal and disciplined hangmen should be fully examined and energetically publicized by the free world. We must repeat and repeat and repeat these finally confessed crimes in order to discredit the Khrushchev "collective leadership" in the eyes of the Russian people and all other peoples—in India, Egypt, on the Chinese mainland, in Burma, North Africa and elsewhere.

The present Kremlin leaders now assert that no return to a one-man rule à la Stalin is possible. But where are the guarantees? After, as before, the twentieth congress, the Soviet Empire is ruled by the same men—with the same methods as during Stalin's time. The "new" Khrushchev era began with Beria's liquidation—in true Stalinist fashion. Malenkov and Molotov were subjected to public humiliation by being forced to confess in public their alleged errors—just as was the custom under Stalin. Loyal following Stalin's example of party leadership, Khrushchev has purged the Communist Party apparatus in favor of his own followers. In flagrant violation of the constitution of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Khrushchev made



changes in the composition of the Central Committee and the Presidium before the twentieth congress in order to pack these ruling bodies with his own henchmen. Khrushchev had his own errors in agricultural policy imputed to others (Malenkov)—just as Stalin used to do. Khrushchev acted as undisputed party boss at the twentieth congress. He laid down the line. Everybody else slavishly followed his directives. Khrushchev's report was applauded and praised almost in the same flattering manner which prevailed during Stalin's time.

Thus, there has occurred no real and basic break with Stalin's methods in regard to the party regime. No break at all has been made with Stalin's basic domestic and foreign policies. On the contrary, the twentieth congress has adopted policies which call for increased exploitation of the peasants (new collectivization drive), intensified emphasis on heavy and armaments industries, intensified labor discipline. For these reasons terror is still needed. Khrushchev himself admitted this much at the congress. The continuing Soviet terror regime is rooted not only in the Communist economic policy but *first of all* in its political system. *The one-party dictatorship is impossible without terror.* Nor does Moscow have any intention of giving up its satellites. Here is an additional reason why the Khrushchev regime will continue to rely on terror as an indispensable form of rule.

Khrushchev and company have loudly called for a return to Leninism. Their congress speeches abound in quotations from Lenin. *But Stalin, too, quoted Lenin frequently and freely. Stalin, too, began his career as omnipotent dictator by pledging adherence to the principle of collective leadership.* Of course, in comparison with the darkest days under Stalin, a real return to the party system and Soviet policy prevalent under Lenin could be considered as some progress. Let us then pose some questions: What were the "Leninist standards of party life" which the Kremlin rulers now hail? What was domestic policy like under Lenin? What was Lenin's foreign policy? What was the Comintern like during Lenin's time? A comparison of the Lenin period with the present Soviet conditions and policies would show that great differences exist between the two stages and that the Soviet rulers do not and cannot contemplate any real return to Leninism.

*But even if such a return to Leninism were possible, the fundamental basis and structure of the Soviet system would remain.* Such a return would be no safeguard against a recurrence of another Stalinist period. *After all, Stalin was a product of Lenin's school and Stalinism was the only logical development of Leninism.*

What were the essentials of Leninism? What was the evolution of the Soviet system and of Soviet policy under Lenin's leadership? Its evolution was climaxed by the crushing of the Kronstadt revolt and the suppression of all internal party opposition at the tenth Communist Party congress in 1921. *Thus, it was Lenin's regime which paved the way for Stalin's one-man rule and which is to blame for the emergence of Stalinism.*

*Without the elimination of the Soviet regime as such, no real change is possible in the Soviet Union.*

### III

#### Why the Drive on Stalin?

It can, of course, only be guessed what are the exact motives of the present Kremlin rulers when they attack Stalin in the manner and with the methods they now do. There certainly are foreign policy reasons for Khrushchev and company wanting to pose as "good democrats." But these reasons are probably *not* decisive. A more compelling reason seems to be the condition in the party and in the country. As yet none of the present rulers has the authority and the power of Stalin. Therefore, cooperation among themselves ("collective leadership") is needed in order to rule the Soviet Empire. The army may also have influenced the decision of the party leadership to demote Stalin (desire to rehabilitate their reputation, Tukachevsky case, Stalin's real role in World War II, etc.). In addition, the Soviet intelligentsia needs more rights and opportunities in order to fulfill its role in the Communist drive for world domination.

Terror and bureaucratization have certainly stifled efficiency and productivity. The new Sixth Five-Year Plan requires increased efforts by the entire population. Through terror alone the goals of the new plan cannot be achieved. Enthusiasm, initiative and greater freedom of decision are needed. Many reports from slave labor camps indicate strike struggles and organized resistance. Furthermore, there is also widespread discontent in the country as a whole, not only among peasants and workers but also among the intellectuals, students and younger party workers whose slogan is "return to Leninism." The present Kremlin policy may well be a slight concession to such moods and to these oppositional elements.

### IV

#### Attitude of the West

Nobody knows what the final results of the Soviet policy shift will be. But it is already obvious that its repercussions will be deep in the Soviet Union, in the satellite countries and among the Cominform parties. Splendid opportunities are thus presented to the Western democracies for an extensive ideological campaign for democracy and against communism as a totalitarian dictatorship.

In order to deepen the crisis which the Kremlin faces at present, it is imperative first of all that the Western democracies should not make any more diplomatic concessions to Moscow. Nor should free labor in any country accept the Soviet-directed united front or popular front proposals made by the Communists and their organizations. Nor should we send delegations to Iron Curtain countries.

To fall in line with Moscow's strategy and fall for such Communist maneuvers would only strengthen the position of Khrushchev and his clique—a position which is at present by no means consolidated. The free world must, under all circumstances, avoid an attitude of "everything is forgiven" toward the Soviet rulers.

# THE PEOPLE WANT H.R. 7225

By NELSON H. CRUIKSHANK

Director, AFL-CIO Department of Social Security

THE best chance the Eighty-fourth Congress has to avoid the "do-nothing" label as far as the people's welfare and economic security are concerned is for the Senate to pass H.R. 7225—the social security amendments of 1956. This is true despite the now open opposition to its major provisions on the part of the Eisenhower Administration, and in spite of the working partnership that has apparently developed between the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Mr. Marion B. Folsom, and the Dixiecrat chairman of the Senate Finance Committee.

This bill, which passed the House last July by a vote of 372 to 31, has six major provisions that concern every working man and woman and every member of a worker's family.

1. *Payment of benefits to persons over 50 years of age who are permanently and totally disabled.* This is the most important provision of the bill and one which has enlisted the most enthusiastic support from labor and other liberal groups. If they are successful in securing its enactment, H.R. 7225 would make monthly benefits payable immediately to about 250,000 disabled workers. In future years as many as a million might become eligible. Upwards of sixty million people working in jobs covered under social security would have the assurance that, if they lost their jobs due to disability after age 50, they would be entitled to these benefits as a right and without a means test. The bill contains positive encouragement to rehabilitation and provides for rehabilitation services in all cases where it is practicable.

This provision of H.R. 7225, while representing a substantial step forward in the development of our social insurance system, is in fact relatively limited and conservative. To be eligible for benefits a person must be at least 50 years of age and have a "medically determinable physical or mental impairment which can be ex-



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pected to result in death or to be of long-continued indefinite duration." He must have been so disabled for at least six months and in addition have been employed under social security for at least five of the immediately preceding ten years, and be both currently and fully insured under the Social Security Act.

In addition, only the primary benefits—that is, those based on the worker's own wages—are paid. Dependents' benefits are not provided. Consequently, even a worker with the highest average wage under social security would only be able to draw one-third of his average wage income in benefits. Certainly, there is no incentive to malingering or falsely establishing disability under such conditions. All these restrictions and limitations represent a cautious approach to the problem and provide in our opinion more safeguards than are necessary. Because it is a cautious and conservative approach, the Executive Council, at its recent meeting, adopted the recommendation of the AFL-CIO Social Security Com-

mittee and endorsed H.R. 7225 as "an immediate legislative objective."

Hearings were held on this bill in the Senate Finance Committee beginning January 25 and ending with the testimony of Secretary Folsom on March 22. Looking over the array of representatives of big business and organized medicine that came forward to say that disability insurance was not only undesirable but impossible, one would get the impression that they were completely unaware of the fact that extensive programs going much further than this bill proposes are now in actual operation.

One would think, from a review of their testimony, that the proposals of H.R. 7225 represented experiments in a new and untried field. The fact is our government is already operating a number of disability programs. Included are those covering railroad employees and career civil service workers. Benefits are also paid by the government to disabled veterans. All states pay benefits to disabled workers under their workmen's compensation laws. Literally by the thousands, doctors are participating in making the required medical determinations in all these programs. Moreover, under the "benefit freeze" provision of the 1954 amendments to the Social Security Act all the procedures necessary for making the determinations of disability required under H.R. 7225 have been worked out and are now in successful operation. And yet the political representatives of the American Medical Association, without ever a blush, come in and say it can't be done. We have news for you, Doctor; it's being done every day!

Secretary Folsom testified that in his opinion a disability program would be too difficult to administer. As long ago as 1938, however, the former chairman of the Social Security Board and later Commissioner for Social Security, Arthur Altmeyer, testified that it would be entirely feasible to administer such a program.

After further study he testified again to this point at the time the 1950 amendments were before Congress.

We would not expect Secretary Folsom to agree with New Dealer Altmeyer. We might expect, however, that he would be inclined to heed the advice of Mr. John W. Tramburg, who was appointed Commissioner of Social Security under the Eisenhower Administration. Mr. Tramburg, a Republican by party affiliation, and now Commissioner of the New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies, is president of the American Public Welfare Association. He appeared on February 28 before the Senate Finance Committee in support of H.R. 7225. He said:

"We strongly endorse the provisions of H.R. 7225 providing for insurance to persons who are totally disabled for an extended period of time. We have studied the proposal for disability insurance benefits for over fifteen years and we believe it is a desirable and necessary addition to the program and is administratively feasible \* \* \*. Unless disability insurance benefits are added to OASI, the costs of disability assistance \* \* \* are bound to continue to increase due to the growth in the population and the increasing proportion of older persons with illness or disability."

It is very significant that the present U.S. Commissioner of Social Security was not called upon to testify. The only member of the Social Security staff who appeared before the committee was the actuary. Secretary Folsom, contrary to all precedent in Congressional hearings, held back his statement until the very last day, and all the Department people were effectively kept under wraps. Is this because the present Social Security Commissioner, as well as the present Director of the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance (both Eisenhower appointees), would have joined their distinguished predecessors and testified to the effect that disability insurance is not only desirable but administratively practicable?

2. *The age at which women under social security become eligible for benefits reduced from 65 to 62.* In this country the average age of wives is about three years lower than the average age of husbands. There are now about 400,000 husbands over age 65 who cannot retire because their

wives are not yet 65, but who could retire if this bill were enacted.

Under the present law a widow of a deceased worker draws benefits for herself and her children until the youngest child reaches age 18. From that time until she is 65 she can draw no benefits. If H.R. 7225 were enacted, about 175,000 widows would be immediately eligible for monthly payments. The lowering of the retirement age for women would also help meet the problem of older women workers who find it especially difficult to hold a job or to find new employment.

In testifying against this provision of the bill, Secretary Folsom said it would be too expensive because women had such a long life expectancy after age 65! Secretary Folsom seems to be thoroughly informed about mortality tables and life expectancy, but we suggest that he needs to acquaint himself with the facts about the *job* expectancy, particularly of older women.

He didn't say so in so many words, but it is clear from the Secretary's testimony that the fiscal problems of social security which are of such primary concern to him would be greatly lessened if older women would just agree to die a little younger. Incidentally, the same Mr. Folsom, as a member of the Advisory Council to the Senate Finance Committee in 1949, joined the majority of the Council which recommended lowering the retirement age of women not to 62 but to 60.

In that recommendation eight years ago he was in agreement with the position of both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Since then Mr. Folsom has joined the famous "team" and now discovers that women live too long and that to pay benefits at the earlier age would cost too much!

3. *Payment of benefits to eligible children who are permanently and totally disabled.* Under the present law when the family breadwinner dies the widowed mother and the children receive benefits until the youngest child reaches 18. Under this proposal both the mother and the child would continue to receive monthly benefits if the child were totally disabled. This provision would affect only about 5,000 children and mothers at present, but it is one of

the most urgent and humane proposals of the entire bill.

4. *Extension of coverage.* Social security would be extended to cover the few remaining gaps after the extensive coverage provisions of the 1954 amendments. The groups included would be mainly self-employed professional groups (excepting physicians), farm owners who receive their income under share-farming agreements, employees of turpentine and gum naval stores, and certain employees of the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Federal Home Loan Banks who are not now under either the civil service retirement system or social security.

5. *Increase the contribution rates.* The labor movement in America has always supported a soundly financed social security system. The record shows that we have never asked for an increase in benefits or an extension of the system into new types of protection such as this bill proposes without at the same time urging the necessary increase in contribution rates from both employers and employees. Careful actuarial studies indicate that the additional protection contemplated in H.R. 7225 can be provided and the system kept in balance by adding one-half of one percent to the present social security tax rates. Administration spokesmen opposed to the measure have been most zealous in carrying out the responsibilities of their self-appointed duties as guardians of the workers' pocket-books. They admit the desirability of adding these new protections, but plead that to do so would add too great a burden on the backs of working people.

The fact is that the working people have not in any known instance through any of the channels available to them expressed themselves in any way excepting in support of the additional contribution rate necessary to pay for the added benefits. People who work for wages do not need any representative of the millionaires' Cabinet to tell them that in this world you don't get something for nothing. It may be that occasionally one does get something for nothing in the stock market, but every wage-earner's wife knows that you don't in the supermarket, and it is in the supermarket and not in the stock market that working people learn the economic facts of life.

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It's not the wage-earners who object to the additional one-half of one per cent social security tax but the employers. That is a point of view which we respect, though we don't agree with it. We could have more respect for Administration spokesmen if they would honestly say that it's the employers about whom they're concerned and shed a few less crocodile tears over the tax rate of employees.

6. *Establish a tripartite advisory council.* H.R. 7225 contains one further measure that relates to the financial soundness of the social security system. Practically every improvement in the social security program has come out of the recommendations of a representative advisory council. It was the Citizens' Advisory Council that made the first recommendations in 1934 on which the principles of the first Social Security Act of 1935 were based. It was another advisory

council that developed the broadening of the program of the basic amendments of 1939. The amendments of 1950 and 1954 were developed in the same way. Labor took an active part in all these advisory councils, along with representatives of the public and representatives of industrial management.

H.R. 7225 provides that such advisory councils be given legislative status and that an advisory council representing employers, workers and the self-employed be set up to review periodically the needs of the system and to make recommendations to Congress designed to keep it on a long-run sound financial basis.

**T**HE opposition to this measure represents one of the most formidable combinations to confront any bill in Congress. Employers' associations and the political arm of the American Medical Association have

joined with official spokesmen of the Eisenhower Administration.

It is reported that at a staff conference in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare a spokesman for the Administration, meeting the arguments of some of the staff who would have liked to have seen H.R. 7225 supported, said:

"But nobody is for this thing except the labor boys and the welfare crowd."

That appears to be true. *Nobody is for H.R. 7225 except the people.* But the people are being heard from.

During the Easter recess Senators were visited by their constituents and they have been hearing from them by letter and by telegram. The people want this added protection.

If enough of us—if *you*—make our wishes regarding this vital measure known to our Senators in Washington, H.R. 7225 will pass the Senate as it passed the House.

## Forward in Philadelphia

By NORMAN BLUMBERG

*Business Manager, Philadelphia Central Labor Union*

**T**HE Philadelphia Central Labor Union is proud of its achievements. In this bustling industrial center, we have made progress through organization and peaceful collective bargaining. Thousands of agreements are negotiated and renewed each year without strife.

Philadelphia's trade union movement, as a result of its record of wholehearted participation in the community and its support of merited endeavors which benefit the greatest number of citizens, has earned representation in governmental, social service, civic and charitable agencies.

The Philadelphia Central Labor Union has always fought for justice. We are proud that our organization was one of the first advocates of fair employment practices legislation in our city. We joined with other groups to ask our city government to establish the principle of fair employment in an ordinance clearly defining and outlawing discriminatory practices in employment. The measure was passed by the City Council. On the Human Relations Commission, which administers the ordi-

nance, we have a full-time staff representative. His duties bring him into close contact with our unions.

Philadelphia labor has a vital and constant interest in slum clearance and low-rent housing. Labor representatives serve on agencies dealing with housing and slum clearance.

No article about organized labor in Philadelphia would be complete without mention of our Medical Center. This undertaking has attracted the attention of our labor organizations throughout the country.

In 1951, with three American Federation of Labor unions participating and Central Labor Union sponsorship, the AFL Medical Center was started in a reconverted section of one of the large hospitals. The center has grown greatly in the years which have elapsed. Membership in the medical service plan is accomplished through collective bargaining between unions and employers. The members—and in many cases their wives and children, too—are provided with modern health maintenance and medical care. The program has won praise from employers. Here

is a statement from one of the companies which had been doubtful about the program in the beginning:

"Through its yearly payments to the Medical Center, our company makes it possible for our employees to take advantage of this wide range of medical services at no cost whatsoever to our employees. It is a benefit difficult to measure in dollars and cents, as it gives the peace of mind that comes with knowing that, without worrying over finances, good medical care is available to them."

Political education is a very important activity of Philadelphia labor. Efforts in the political education field are made throughout the year. We adhere strictly to labor's national policy in giving or withholding our support solely on the basis of the candidates' records—never on the basis of party identification.

We are proud of our fostering of labor unity and cooperation. With the continuance of this policy we can look forward to the establishment of still greater gains for the trade unionists of Philadelphia and for all the people of our historic city.

# Give COPE Your Support

By JAMES L. McDEVITT and JACK KROLL

*Co-Directors, Committee on Political Education*

**Y**OU vote on issues that affect your pocketbook when you cast your ballot at the precinct polling place. If you elect enough of labor's friends, laws that hinder your union in its efforts to win you a pay increase—such as the Taft-Hartley Act and the so-called "right to work" laws—will be changed or repealed. Think your taxes are too high? Your city and state taxes and the federal tax that is deducted from your paycheck are determined by the people you help put in office. Your vote also helps to decide the kind of schools your children attend, how much you pay for gas, light and telephone, and even the kind of roads on which you drive your car.

These are a few of the things that you and millions of fellow Americans decide at the polling places of the nation.

That was why the AFL-CIO constitution specifically authorized President George Meany to name the Committee on Political Education (COPE). This group is directed to encourage "workers to register and vote, to exercise their full rights and responsibilities of citizenship and to perform their rightful part in the political life of the city, state and national communities."

In his speech accepting the presidency at the first AFL-CIO convention last December, Mr. Meany said:

"We want our people to be informed on all issues facing the electorate, and we want them in particular to be informed on the issues that affect their lives and their daily work. \* \* \* We have a right and a duty to meet those who are opposed to us wherever they present the challenge."

The convention subsequently reaffirmed organized labor's traditional policy of "avoiding entangling alliances with any other group and of supporting worthy candidates regardless of their party affiliation."

The convention added:

"We will cooperate wherever practical and feasible with other groups

which have the same ideals and aims as our organization, but we seek neither to capture any organization nor will we submerge our identity to any other group in any other manner."

The resolution authorized an annual campaign for voluntary contributions to support COPE and called upon each affiliated organization to "render every possible cooperation and assistance to this endeavor."



MR. McDEVITT

COPE is now conducting its 1956 fund-raising drive. Early reports indicate that more trade unionists than ever before are interested in taking part in the AFL-CIO political program by voluntarily contributing \$1 or more to the COPE drive.

Politics costs money. It costs money to print leaflets, pay for clerical help, posters, advertising, radio and television time, travel and the many other campaign expenses.

Rich people are not going to give large sums of money to candidates who like labor. They are not going to kick in several thousands of dollars to the campaign of any man because he promises to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act, increase minimum wages, improve unemployment compensation or make taxes more fair for the working man and woman.

The only individuals to whom candidates who want to help all the people can turn are workers them-

selves. It's your dollars which they need. It's your dollars which will help them carry their message to the voters.

The simplest, easiest way to make your dollars effective is to contribute voluntarily to COPE. It's your committee and it's set up to help you. Half of every dollar contributed to COPE will be used in the states, and the other half by national COPE in critical elections.



MR. KROLL

COPE consists of local and state committees of AFL-CIO members and a national committee, which is the AFL-CIO Executive Council. President Meany is COPE chairman and Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler is its secretary-treasurer.

Realizing the great importance of women's votes, COPE has a Women's Activities Department which is headed by Mrs. Margaret Thornburgh and Mrs. Esther Murray. The AFL-CIO convention adopted a resolution on women's political activities which asserted:

"The preponderance of women over men of voting age is concentrated in the industrial areas where their votes are of particular importance to organized labor. \* \* \* It is in these areas where anti-labor forces are at work to win the votes of trade union wives."

Among COPE's activities will be the preparation and distribution of

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voting records of members of Congress and other material to guide union members in casting their ballots wisely.

From its national headquarters at Washington, D. C., COPE has sent out membership books to unions participating in its 1956 voluntary fundraising campaign.

Important as is the work of national COPE, political action to be successful must be carried on throughout the nation wherever our members reside.

Typical of the local work which is essential are the activities of one of our Baltimore groups. It was galvanized into action when it found that less than 30 per cent of the union members in its jurisdiction were registered to vote. Non-registered members were informed of their proper registration places. Active union members joined with their officers in conducting the registration campaign.

The results were good—but not good enough. Seeking to step up its efforts, the organization hired a director of registration charged with the responsibility of getting our membership registered. Transit ads, posters, leaflets, and bumper and window signs for autos were used in the intensified drive. Several other methods also were employed. Finally, the names of 20,000 union members were obtained from rosters furnished by local unions. The names were listed on cards by precincts and wards.

A company was engaged to set up a file listing each member's name, address, local union, ward, precinct, legislative and Congressional districts. Wherever a pamphlet was to be mailed, the firm furnished gummed tapes bearing members' names and addresses.

Similar methods are being used by hundreds of AFL-CIO groups throughout the country. Thousands of dedicated union members have rung doorbells and done other important jobs to get other members to register and vote.

Labor increasingly is recognizing that economic and political problems are inseparable. Gains won at the bargaining table and on the picket line can be taken away by Congress,

If you don't feel happy about Congress, you can move to better the situation by giving a dollar to COPE and by registering and voting.

a state legislature or a local council.

Election results in 1954 and 1955 answer short-sighted union members who say, "What's the use?" Through union efforts at least 154 friends were elected to the House and the number of friendly Senators was increased by four in 1954. The liberal groundswell continued in 1955 municipal elections in many states where scores of candidates unfriendly to labor were defeated. In Indiana liberals gained control in seventy-two cities and conservatives in thirty, compared to 1951 when conservatives captured seventy mayors' seats and the liberals thirty-two. In Pennsylvania labor helped elect liberal Richardson Dilworth mayor of Philadelphia, and the entire liberal ticket for city council in Pittsburgh and for Allegheny County posts. In Michigan, John D. Dingell, Jr., won nomination for the Congressional seat that had been held by his father and was elected late in the year with labor's support.

It was union support that helped

elect labor's friends to municipal and legislative posts too numerous to mention.

The large liberal majority in the recent Minnesota Presidential preference primary elections, incidentally, further continued the trend away from the conservatives. There, the liberals received 68 per cent of the vote.

Labor was on the march politically in 1954 and 1955.

COPE has made a strong appeal for voluntary contributions in this 1956 Presidential year. The stakes are high. The entire House membership of 435 seats will be chosen in November. There will be contests for thirty-four of the ninety-six Senate seats. Governors will be elected in thirty states.

It is up to you, Mr. Union Member, whether labor will continue its forward march at the polls. Remember that when the COPE collector asks you for a contribution to help tell you the issues at stake.





# AMERICA NEEDS MORE HOUSING

By **HARRY C. BATES**  
Chairman, AFL-CIO Housing Committee

**T**HE annual housing battle is on in Washington. On one side is the AFL-CIO, supported by many civic, housing and other public interest groups. We advocate a housing program geared to the needs of American families—all American families—for decent homes. On the other side are those who speak in terms of the housing market while they ignore housing needs. Their forces include the real estate and home builders' organizations as well as the Eisenhower Administration itself.

What about this concept of the housing market? Does it make sense for housing policies to be formulated on the basis of what the market dictates? To answer this question we must first see just what the housing market is.

Reduced to the most basic terms, the size of the housing market is determined by the number of families who can afford the houses offered for sale at the prices (including down payments and monthly charges) at which those houses are offered for sale. In other words, if the income of the Jones family is not large enough to meet the financial costs of houses at the terms under which they are offered for sale by builders and other sellers, the Jones family is simply not in the housing market.

Of course, this does not mean that Mr. and Mrs. Jones and their kids may not have a desperate need for living quarters. They may have been forced to live in a crumbling tenement in a run-down section of town—no fit place for children to grow up. Indeed, the Jones family may be among those with the greatest need for housing, but if they do not have the necessary funds to pay for decent housing at the prices and terms offered by builders, they are not considered to be in the housing market.

Is the answer to exclude the Jones family and many others in similar straits from ever having the opportunity to obtain decent homes? Ob-



MR. BATES

viously not. Instead, ways and means must be developed to make it possible for families which need housing to obtain good homes at charges they can afford.

Before turning to how this can best be done, let me indicate just what are the consequences of adjusting housing policies and programs to the housing market rather than to housing needs. In 1955 approximately 1,300,000 houses and apartments were built in this country, the great majority of them one-family houses

offered for sale. In all likelihood last year's level will at best be equaled in 1956. In fact, it is altogether possible that fewer houses will be built this year than last year.

Even if housing construction this year should be at an annual rate of 1,400,000 units, the highest level ever reached, it will be far less than adequate to meet the nation's housing needs. As the AFL and the CIO were the first to point out three years ago, to meet housing needs at least 2,000,000 units a year must be built.

Taken by itself, this 2,000,000 figure may seem impossibly large, especially in comparison with the current rate of housing construction of only 1,200,000 million units. But the rate of housing construction, to be meaningful, should be related to population. If that is done, we find that during most of the 1920s the volume of private non-farm housing construction, in relation to population and number of households, was considerably larger than in the years since 1950. Yet even though there was a relatively high level of housing construction during the 1920s, millions of American families still lacked decent living quarters at the end of that decade.

Decent housing is essential for all—especially for the nation's children. All America benefits when there are good homes for the poor as well as the rich.



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Let's come back to 1956. Today at least 15,000,000 families are forced to occupy dwellings which do not measure up to even minimum standards of decency, and every year that housing construction is less than the minimum required rate of 2,000,000 units, more families are being forced into living quarters unfit for human habitation.

Suppose housing construction should be maintained at the current rate of 1,200,000 until 1960 and thereafter until 1970 it were to average 1,400,000 units a year. By 1970 we would have 17,000,000 substandard units still in use—2,000,000 more than the current number.

Now let us suppose that the rate of housing construction during the next five years is increased to an average of 2,000,000 units and an average of 2,400,000 is achieved for the 1960-70 period. In that case we would have only 5,000,000 substandard units in use in 1970.

Even 5,000,000 families living in substandard houses is far too many. Certainly, the AFL-CIO goal for housing construction of 2,000,000 units a year is the very minimum at which housing programs must be aimed.

If our goal is anything less, it would mean that the United States, unchallengeably the greatest and most prosperous nation in the world, must confess that it cannot build the minimum number of houses needed to prevent a large proportion of families from being forced for an indefinite period to live in substandard dwellings.

Now we get back to this question of the housing market as against housing needs. The rate of housing construction will not be boosted to the necessary 2,000,000 units a year unless homebuilding activity is fundamentally redirected so that housing construction is not concentrated on providing more houses for families with relatively high incomes who already have good homes. Housing policies must assure that a far larger number of homes are built for the families in the low and middle ranges of the income scale who, despite the most urgent need for decent housing, are priced out of today's housing market.

Official government figures confirm the lack of adjustment between current housing construction and the



The disease and crime rates soar when people make their homes in dilapidated, unsanitary dwellings like these.

housing needs of average American families. According to the U.S. Department of Labor, in 1955 the median selling price of new non-farm one-family houses was \$13,700. A family has to have an income of about \$7500 in order to afford a \$13,700 house if it devotes 20 per cent of its income to housing. The Federal Reserve Board has just released figures which show that last year only 13 per cent of all families in the U.S. had incomes of \$7500 or more. In other words, only the top 13 per cent of all families could afford to pay for the average house put on the market.

These facts emphasize the inadequacy of the current housing program. It is a program which fails to assure a high enough volume of construction to meet minimum housing requirements and it does not provide housing at costs most families can afford.

The answer must be a housing program which concentrates not on providing still more federal financial assistance for housing for the well-to-do who are already adequately housed but a program that will provide practicable means for making housing available to the families in the greatest need who are priced out of today's housing market. These are the low- and middle-income families.

There is only one way of assuring low-income families—families with incomes of \$2500 or less—decent housing. That is the time-tested low-rent public housing program. Housing under this program is built and financed by private enterprise under a proven formula combining federal financial assistance with local commu-

nity initiative. Unquestionably, public housing offers the only effective means for making good housing available to low-income families at costs they can afford.

It certainly cannot be seriously argued that private builders can be relied on to build decent housing at costs low-income families can afford. Few people realize that, under a provision in the Housing Act of 1954, the federal government has offered mortgage insurance under the Federal Housing Administration for so-called "low-cost private housing." When Congress was considering the Administration's request for authorization of this program in 1954, Housing and Home Finance Administrator Albert Cole expressed the hope that it "would relieve the pressure upon the need for the public housing program." Now, two years later, not a single house has been built—and it is extremely doubtful that any appreciable number of houses will ever be built—under this so-called low-cost private housing program.

In 1949 Congress authorized a low-rent public housing program of 810,000 units to be built over a six-year period. Subsequently, in riders to the appropriations acts year after year, the public housing authorization has been reduced to an insignificant trickle.

The Senate voted last year to authorize annual construction of 135,000 units of low-rent public housing, the average annual volume which Congress had authorized in 1949, but as the measure was finally passed, only 45,000 units were authorized.

The AFL-CIO strongly believes



Modern homes are needed for families with moderate and low incomes. Such homes will become available when Congress enacts labor's proposals.

that the program contemplated in the Housing Act of 1949 should be completed as rapidly as possible. Therefore, we have urged authorization for 200,000 units for each of the next three years as the minimum needed if we are to begin to provide decent housing for low-income families.

City officials all over the country who are attempting to engage in fundamental rebuilding and redevelopment of their communities are faced with the fact that the decaying areas in their cities cannot be torn down without displacing large numbers of families who live in these slum areas. These families, most of whom are in the low-income group, must have decent housing available to them within their means. But whether or not low-income families occupy slum dwellings slated for clearance, they, no less than any other families, have the right to obtain decent housing in good neighborhoods. That is why the AFL-CIO calls for a large-scale public housing program for low-income families.

There is also a large unfilled housing need among middle-income families. As has already been indicated, most middle-income families are simply unable to obtain housing at prices they can afford. To meet this situation, a housing program must be developed that, without subsidy, can assure an opportunity for middle-income families to obtain good homes within their means.

This calls, first and foremost, for reducing the financial charges which

have priced many middle-income families out of today's housing market. This can be achieved if loans will be made available for housing for moderate-income families at a low interest rate and for a longer amortization period. This can be done through non-profit cooperative or rental housing. Such loans can even be made available to moderate-income buyers of single-family homes.

**L**ET'S see what the effect of low-cost loans for middle-income housing would be. At the present time the best financing that can be obtained under the FHA is at a 5 per cent interest rate for a twenty-five-year amortization period. The monthly charge on a \$10,000 mortgage financed at the current 5 per cent FHA interest rate for a twenty-five-year amortization period is \$58.50. If loans were made available at 3½ per cent for a forty-year period, the same \$10,000

mortgage would involve a monthly housing cost of only \$38.70, a difference of nearly \$20.

A family would need an annual income of \$5460 to carry the 5 per cent, twenty-five-year financing, but only \$4260 for meeting the costs involved in the 3½ per cent, forty-year financing. Thus it can be clearly seen that if financial charges can be substantially reduced, a far larger proportion of middle-income families could obtain houses at costs they can afford.

As this is being written, the Senate Subcommittee on Housing which is considering housing legislation has just concluded its hearings. One of the bills before it has been introduced by Senator Herbert Lehman and a distinguished group of co-sponsors. This bill includes the major features of the AFL-CIO housing program. At this date it is too early to predict what the fate of this bill will be in the present session of Congress.

Every American can be sure that the AFL-CIO will work for enactment of the best possible housing legislation. To every proposal which is advanced we will apply just one test—does it meet housing needs?

Organized labor will support any housing program which genuinely meets housing needs because we know that kind of program will be in the best interests of the nation.



Public housing that takes the place of horrible slums has proved highly successful. Unfortunately, only a fraction of the public housing need has been met up to now.

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Convention in Chattanooga heard AFL-CIO Secretary Schnitzler as Tennessee became the second state to achieve merger.

**STATE AFL AND CIO ORGANIZATIONS** in Missouri, Tennessee and Louisiana have joined forces in recent days, establishing new AFL-CIO State Labor Councils. A few weeks earlier AFL and CIO state groups had merged in Arkansas. The four states with merged labor organizations are in the forefront of the drive to achieve merger in all the states by December, 1957, as provided in the AFL-CIO constitution.

AFL-CIO President George Meany addressed the convention establishing the Missouri State Labor Council. This convention, held in Kansas City, was attended by 1,000 delegates from the former State Federation of Labor and the former State Industrial Union Council. Mr. Meany declared his faith that the unity of labor will become a reality "at all levels—national, state and local."

AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler addressed the merger convention in Tennessee. The history-making conclave was held in Chattanooga. Mr. Schnitzler said labor in the Volunteer State was "keeping in step with the march of progress." The Tennessee charter was presented by R. J. Thomas, assistant to AFL-CIO President Meany.

In Louisiana, trade union unity came in a convention at Baton Rouge. The charter of the new State Labor Council was presented by Peter J. McGavin, assistant to AFL-CIO President Meany. Applause echoed through the hall when Mr. McGavin declared:

"We will grow and grow and organize and organize because every unorganized worker is a threat to our existence and to our prosperity."



R. J. Thomas (left), assistant to AFL-CIO President Meany, presented the charter of the newly formed Tennessee State Labor Council to Stanton E. Smith, TSLC's president.

# Editorial

By GEORGE MEANY

## Disappointing Retreat

**I**T IS deeply disappointing to find the Administration balking at the modest improvements in social security contained in H.R. 7225. This measure, already overwhelmingly approved by the House of Representatives, has two major provisions: (1) that totally and permanently disabled persons shall become eligible for retirement benefits at the age of 50, instead of being forced to wait until 65; and (2) that the retirement age for women shall be lowered from 65 to 62.

The need and justice of these changes are too obvious to require justification. Yet, because of opposition by the American Medical Association, the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee has been casting about for a pretext to pigeonhole the bill.

Along came Marion B. Folsom, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, to the rescue of Committee Chairman Byrd. In a carefully phrased statement, presented at a public hearing of the committee, Secretary Folsom opposed the bill on the basis of cost rather than merit.

The people of this country had a right to expect a more constructive and courageous stand from Mr. Folsom. Before he entered the Cabinet, Mr. Folsom had given evidence, as a business representative, of a refreshingly liberal attitude on social security legislation. In fact, he had publicly advocated improvements similar to those contained in the pending bill.

It was distinctly surprising, therefore, to see Secretary Folsom take a more reactionary position as spokesman for the Administration than he had as spokesman for the Chamber of Commerce.

The retreat of Secretary Folsom must not be permitted to block this meritorious legislation. If the Senate Finance Committee lets the bill come

out for a vote on the Senate floor, it is certain to pass by a large majority. Labor and other liberal groups must respond to this challenge to the democratic process. It would be a blow to the best interests of the American people if a few individuals should succeed in bottling up the beneficial provisions contained in this bill as it passed the House.

## The Threat in Cyprus

**T**HE CRISIS on Cyprus has become so grave as to weaken dangerously the moral, political and military foundations of NATO. This threat to the collective security and defense system of the Western democracies is, of the most vital concern to all freedom-loving nations and free trade unions everywhere.

The continuation of the present repressive regime not only embitters the people of Cyprus but also poisons Anglo-Greek and Greco-Turkish relations. This seriously endangers the possibility of Cyprus serving as an effective, vital base of Western democratic defense. Such a state of affairs can only serve the interests of Communist subversion and Soviet imperialist aggression and jeopardize the cause of human freedom and world peace.

We therefore strongly urge our government to use all its good offices to help end this terrible situation where all domestic rights have been wiped out and violence has become the order of the day. We call upon our government to do its utmost for securing a solution of the crisis on the basis of the Cypriots realizing full self-determination.

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offices to have the British government (1) rescind the deportation of Archbishop Makarios, who is the spiritual leader as well as the spokesman of the people of Cyprus; (2) restore all trade union rights and release Michael Pissas, the general secretary of the anti-Communist Cyprus Federation of Labor, and all other free trade unionists imprisoned for their support of Cypriot national

freedom; (3) restore all democratic rights to the people on this island, and (4) resume negotiations for a just and peaceful solution of the crisis based on the prompt application of the principle of self-determination and the creation of conditions conducive to harmony among all the people of Cyprus and to its strengthening as a defensive base of NATO.



MR. MEGEL

## **TEACHERS BELONG in the LABOR MOVEMENT**

By CARL J. MEGEL

*President, American Federation of Teachers*

TEACHERS became interested in and organized unions when they, like other workers, found that as individuals they were helpless in bargaining with their employers, the boards of education of the districts in which they worked. By collective action they were able to raise the individual to a position of bargaining on an equal basis.

While it is true that the teacher shortage has made it easier for teachers to bargain individually in securing a position, individual teachers who are sincerely dedicated to their profession and who intend to make teaching their life-work find that the need for a strong teachers' union was never so evident and obvious.

Teaching has always been hard work. But in today's complex society it is much more difficult physically, mentally and morally than at any time in the history of this nation. Teachers today find their tasks more difficult, but in addition they have to give time outside the classroom to bring to the citizenry an understanding of the problems of the schools. Teachers as never before recognize these activities as their responsibility, because they understand that the stakes include the preservation of American democracy.

The American Federation of Teachers has constantly urged its members to take active part in community, civic and professional affairs. Response

has been the cornerstone to the strength of the teachers' union movement. It was to be expected that this expansion of the prerogatives of a teacher should meet opposition. The resolution passed recently by one board of education in a Western city is an example of such opposition. This resolution practically disfranchises every teacher in that city for community political activity.

Legislatures throughout the country have been flooded with proposals to weaken, undermine or repeal existing teacher tenure laws and intimidate teachers as insidious "right to work" bills have moved forward with alarming steadiness. Eighteen states have passed laws which prohibit all union security agreements.

The pressure groups which provide the impetus for this type of legislation hide behind phony fronts. In Utah the pressure group was called the Industrial Relations Council. In the Southern states the front organization is known as the Southern States Industrial Council. In Oklahoma the wrecking crew was known as Jobs, Inc. In many areas of the country we find a National Economic Council.

While the primary object of these organizations is to curtail the influence of labor organizations, they are also in evidence whenever increased school revenue is proposed. In order to further their ends they

have set up organizations under the guise of civic welfare. However, they completely lose track of issues which are for the greatest good of the citizens of the future—the children's welfare and education.

Teachers need to be vigilantly alert to oppose, through their own efforts and those of their neighbors and friends, the enactment of unfavorable bills which curtail the education of the children of our nation. Teachers, above all others, must never forget that while our democracy is in grave danger from without, the history of the world shows that most democracies have been lost because of infiltration and dissipation from within.

Through the American Federation of Teachers, teachers are actively engaged in defeating measures which would undermine our democracy. At the same time they are supporting measures which promote and advance our American public school system.

The union movement among our teachers will continue to grow as our present membership expands its leadership into areas not yet covered and as it asks colleague teachers to join forces for the greater good of the profession through strong, constructive and objective programs which always keep in the forefront the sound development of this great nation through the finest possible education of its youth. The road is rocky, but the route is clear before us.



# PROGRESS IN MASSACHUSETTS

By JOHN A. CALLAHAN and KENNETH J. KELLEY

*President and Secretary-Treasurer, Respectively,  
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor*

**T**HE Massachusetts State Federation of labor, while mindful of its rich traditions and accomplishments of the past, is aggressively meeting the challenges of this fast-moving world. Organized as long ago as 1887, the Massachusetts State Federation is today one of the most vigorous state bodies in the AFL-CIO.

Our sixty-ninth annual convention was held in Boston's Hotel Statler last August. In attendance were more than 800 delegates representing 225,000 Bay State trade unionists. Speakers at this convention included Governor Christian A. Herter, Archbishop Richard J. Cushing, Mayor John P. Hynes of Boston, President Woodruff Randolph of the International Typographical Union, James L. McDevitt, U.S. Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell and many other leaders in the public and economic life of the community, state and nation.

There were spirited contests for most of the places on the Executive Council. Elected president was John A. Callahan of Lawrence, a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Six new vice-presidents were elected along with ten others who were reelected. Kenneth J. Kelley was reelected to the position of secretary-treasurer-legislative agent. Francis E. Lavigne was returned to the position of director of education for his fifth term.

The Massachusetts State Federation of Labor has charted a broad program on the political, economic and legislative fronts. A drive to stimulate greater participation in political education has been launched.

We have committees on legislation, education, social security, workmen's compensation, taxation, housing and organization. These groups are particularly valuable in connection with the presentation of the Federation's legislative program at the State House in Boston.

The legislative accomplishments of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor have been many. A baby Norris-



MR. CALLAHAN

LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Law, first enacted in 1935, has been greatly strengthened. As a result, picketing by Massachusetts unions is exempt from most of the judicial restraints often encountered in other states.

One of the earliest states to initiate minimum wage legislation was Massachusetts. Last year the legislature increased the minimum wage to 90 cents per hour. This new figure became effective in March.

Since most union members already enjoy higher rates than are prescribed in federal and state minimum wage laws, it is obvious that the benefits from the higher minimum will flow more to the unorganized workers than to the organized. This is only one more example of the inescapable fact that gains achieved by labor through its legislative activities redound to the benefit of *all* workers and not just to those who happen to be members of a particular labor organization.

The problem of older workers has received the attention of the Massachusetts labor movement. In 1950 the State Federation of Labor suc-

ceeded in having legislation adopted that prohibits discrimination in employment against workers because they happen to be between 45 and 65 years of age. The legislation advocated by labor took the form of an amendment to the Massachusetts Fair Employment Practices Act, which had been passed in 1946. This effort to prevent prejudice and discrimination against elderly workers because of age was until recently the only law of its kind in effect anywhere in the country. We believe that the other states having fair employment laws could and should amend their laws to bar bias against older workers.

Because of the high employment that has prevailed in recent years, the significance and value of this prohibition against age discrimination have not yet been fully seen. Should there be a slump in economic activity and considerable unemployment, the Massachusetts provisions prohibiting refusal to employ older workers and outlawing discharge solely for age will have a most salutary effect.

**O**UR working people have made a variety of legislative gains recently. One achievement was a \$5 increase in weekly workmen's compensation. Some of the abuses in industrial homework have been corrected. Other gains included grievance procedure for public employees, stricter regulation of "help wanted" advertisements of companies involved in labor disputes, group insurance for public employees and extension of the wage predetermination law to state printing, bookbinding and purchases of meat products.

At the 1955 session of the legislature, all anti-labor bills were soundly defeated. As in a number of other states, a "right to wreck" bill was introduced in Massachusetts. Like its counterparts in other states, this bill would have outlawed all forms of union security. The labor movement reacted promptly and vigorously to this tremendous threat.

Having encountered and repulsed a similar attack when it appeared in 1948 as a referendum, we were familiar with all the specious arguments and razzle-dazzle that the union-busters could trot out. The 1948 version of "right to wreck" had been defeated by the voters to the tune of 1,077,642 to 443,368. House Bill 860 was the "wreck" bill. Its sponsor, Representative Charles Marston of Haverhill, was a non-union shoe manufacturer. The officers and members of all American Federation of Labor unions in Massachusetts were alerted to the dangers inherent in this so-called "right to work" bill.

When the hearing was held, it was attended by 2,500 officers and union members from all parts of the state. The turnout was the largest at any legislative hearing that seasoned State House attaches had ever witnessed. A week later, when the House voted, it defeated Mr. Marston's "wreck" bill by 190 to 2.

A number of other bills detrimental to toilers went down to defeat. The bad bills were aimed at weakening the unemployment compensation law, the workmen's compensation act, public employees' pensions and the predetermined wage law on public construction.

Since 1948 the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor has carried on an extensive program of political action and workers' education. This department is manned by a full-time director, Francis Lavigne. Financed in part by a portion of the per capita tax paid by affiliates, the department maintains a separate office and staff. It pioneered in the establishment of an annual high school essay contest. In 1955 more than 1,500 high school seniors took part in this contest.

Another phase of the educational program has been the presentation annually of two scholarships to outstanding representatives of labor for study under the Trade Union Fellowship Program at Harvard University. One of the scholarships is known as the Robert J. Watt Memorial, in memory of the great international representative of the AFL, who had served earlier in his career as the secretary-treasurer and legislative agent of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

When it's election time the Education Department concentrates on political organization and election. Sup-



MR. KELLEY

plementing the fund-raising program is the annual Samuel Gompers memorial dinner, the proceeds of which are applied to state and local political contests, registration drives and other necessary campaign activities. Other activities in the field of education include the publication of a monthly paper known as the *Labor Reporter* and the holding of annual labor institutes and frequent workers' education conferences in conjunction with central labor unions.

The Massachusetts State Federation of Labor takes an active part in public and civic affairs on both the state and community levels. One of its vice-presidents, Joseph McLaughlin, is a full-time labor liaison representa-

tive of the Greater Boston Community Fund. A former president, Thomas W. Bowe, is a member of the Industrial Accident Board, rendering fine service to injured workers.

One of our vice-presidents, Benjamin G. Hull, serves as the labor member on the State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration. Vice-President Helen O'Donnell serves on the board of directors of the Metropolitan Chapter, American Red Cross. Another vice-president, William Moran, was recently elected a director of the Fitchburg Savings Bank. Vice-President John F. Wipfler was recently appointed labor adviser to the city manager at Quincy. Former President Henry J. Brides is chairman of the Licensing Commission at Brockton. Robert M. Segal, legal adviser of the State Federation of Labor, is a vice-chairman of the labor relations section of the American Bar Association.

Many other Massachusetts trade unionists serve on local housing boards, community chests, boards of education and other important community bodies.

We look forward to the unification of the AFL and CIO state bodies in Massachusetts. We are sure that the problems and challenges of the future will be met with good will and industrial statesmanship by the trade union movement of Massachusetts. While mindful of our glorious traditions and the accomplishments of the past, we have set our sights on the tremendous responsibilities and opportunities of the future.

## ON TO SEATTLE!

*COLORFUL EXHIBITS, union-made products and equipment valued in excess of \$20,000,000 will be on display when the 1956 AFL-CIO Union Industries Show opens in Seattle on April 20. Hundreds of the nation's leading union manufacturers and purveyors of union services, the AFL-CIO and national and international unions will join in bringing to the general public a graphic example of harmonious labor-management relations.*

*Billed as the "World's Greatest Labor-Management Exhibition," the Union Industries Show has grown to be one of the biggest shows in the country. Sponsored annually by the AFL-CIO Union Label and Service Trades Department, the show has been seen by 5,000,000.*

# KOHLER STRIKERS CARRY ON

By EMIL MAZEY

Secretary-Treasurer, United Automobile Workers

**I**N Sheboygan County, Wisconsin, more than 2,000 Kohler workers, members of UAW Local 833, have started their third spring on the picket lines. April 5, the second anniversary of the strike, found these workers still dedicated to the same principles that forced them to strike back in 1954. These workers, with an average seniority of more than ten years, have never wavered in their determination to win wages and working conditions like those enjoyed by other industrial workers all over America.

This is an incredible collective bargaining situation. In all this time, the Kohler Company, one of the nation's best known plumbingware manufacturers, has never once engaged in good-faith negotiations. Two years have passed since the strike began. In all that time Herbert V. Kohler, president of the company and the principal stockholder, has never attended a bargaining session, yet he recently testified under oath at an NLRB hearing that he is personally responsible for the company's conduct during the strike. Kohler also asserted, under oath, that he doesn't know the status of the union's demands.

At the start of the strike the Kohler workers asked for wage increases to bring Kohler rates up to the rates for the company's principal competitors, a workable grievance procedure including an arbitration clause that would permit an arbitrator to make decisions in discipline and discharge cases, a non-contributory pension program, improved hospital-medical benefits and a workable seniority agreement.

Every proposal was merely designed to help workers catch up with the rest of industrial America. At no point did the Kohler Company indicate the union's demands would impose an economic hardship on the company. It merely said no to every argument.

For years the Kohler Company resisted union organization. The Koh-



MR. MAZEY

lers, who trace their ancestry to feudal days in Austria, managed to maintain almost undisputed control over their bathtub barony, Kohler Village and the adjoining company. When the United Auto Workers won the NLRB election that gave our union bargaining rights, the Kohler Company stalled in negotiations for eight months. We finally won our first contract right on the eve of a strike deadline.

The Kohler Company forced the current strike by its refusal to negotiate a fair and equitable collective bargaining agreement. The company filed notice of its intention to cancel the contract before it expired. When the contract ran out on March 1, 1954, the company turned down a union request that the contract be extended in order to give both parties time to resolve differences around the bargaining table. For five weeks the workers stayed on the job without a contract. The strike did not begin until April 5, 1954.

Kohler workers finally struck when the company representatives walked out on negotiations, leaving the workers no other honorable choice.

Many interested groups and individuals have tried to help settle the

strike. Governor Walter Kohler of Wisconsin, a nephew of the president of the Kohler Company, asked the parties to submit their differences to arbitration as long ago as July of 1954. The union agreed to the Governor's request, but the company arrogantly rejected it.

Mediation efforts have been tried by two judges, the Federal Mediation Service, the Wisconsin State Mediation Service and a committee of U.S. Senators. Each of these efforts resulted in failure because of the refusal of the company to establish collective bargaining conditions in line with the American way of life in the second half of the Twentieth Century.

The company's goal from the start has been to break the union. From the beginning the company has used every legal and also some very questionable strikebreaking methods. It recruited scabs from a wide area. It armed scabs as special deputies in its private police force.

The company now insists that its primary obligation is to the strikebreakers and not to the men and women with 23,000 years of seniority on its picket lines. Kohler absolutely refuses to replace scabs with its regular work force; it can take back fewer than 500 people, the company says.

Only a few weeks ago, in Chicago, I assured Lyman Conger, chief spokesman for the company, that the UAW is not interested in bargaining for the scabs; that any settlement must recognize the right of the workers to their jobs.

The Kohler Company has tried to mask its intentions behind charges of "violence" and "terrorism," but this is a smokescreen. The union has conducted a legal strike. On the other hand, the company has had, during this strike, an arsenal of tear gas, riot guns and clubs with which it has endeavored to intimidate strikers into submission.

Almost twenty-two years ago—in July of 1934—the Kohler Company broke the backbone of an AFL fed-



UAW Local 833 was forced to strike by anti-labor company's refusal to negotiate in good faith.

eral labor union's strike with gunfire. It is a matter of record that gunfire from inside the plant killed two strikers and wounded forty-seven other persons. Many of the wounded were shot in the back.

A year ago Kohler spokesman Lyman Conger told the Associated Press: "Frankly [we] would not grieve to see Local 833 \* \* \* broken in this struggle. If anyone would like to speculate on the basis of what happened here after the 1934 strike, they are at liberty to do so."

Some of the men on the picket line today still carry the scars and the lead from that 1934 strike. Most at least carry vivid personal memories of what that strike meant to their families and the community. Perhaps that is one reason why, after two years, the spirit of the Kohler workers has not been broken.

During this strike the Kohler workers, if not the company, are aware that times have changed. Back in 1934 the great surge of union organizing was just beginning. Today the striking Kohler workers enjoy the support of millions of organized workers across America.

The United Auto Workers has helped minimize the sacrifices of the Kohler workers by contributing over \$8,000,000 in strike benefits to the



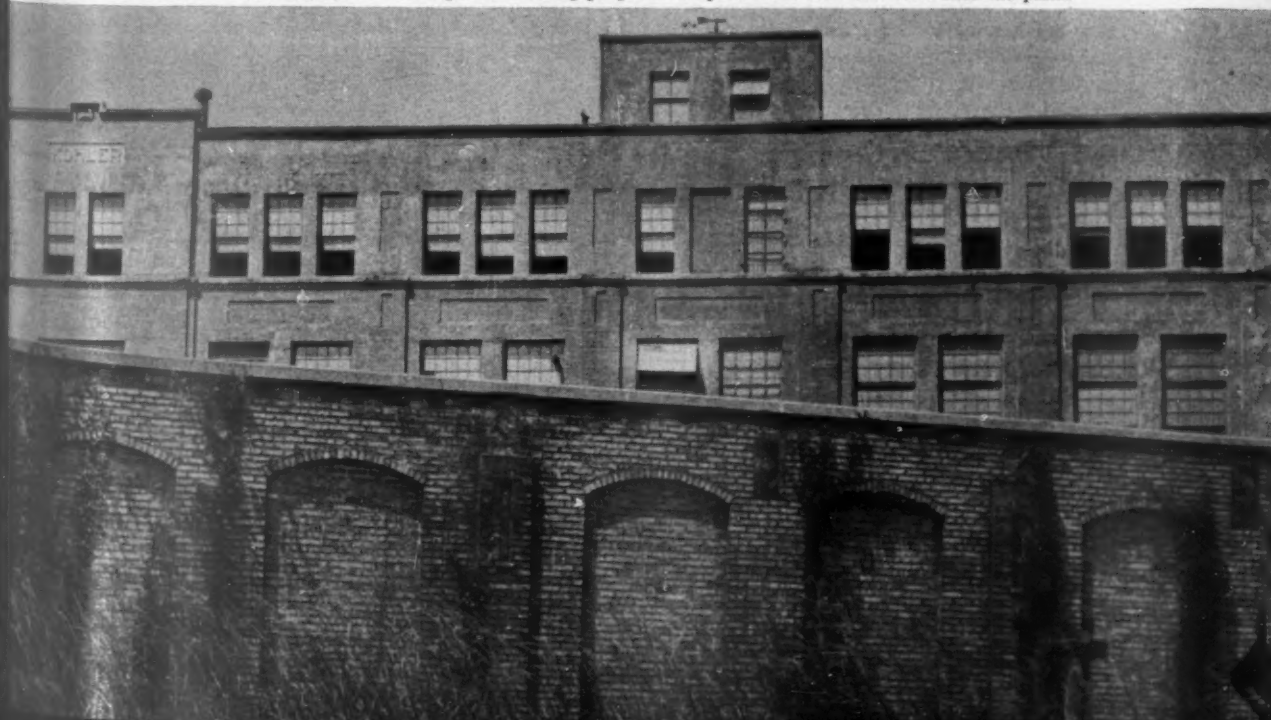
workers and their families. Other international unions and scores upon scores of local unions have given generously of time, money, clothes—and they have supported the boycott of Kohler plumbingware.

We are often asked: "How can you win a strike against a management like Kohler's?" Two major forces are at work. One is the National Labor Relations Board hearing, which has been going on in Sheboy-

gan for more than a year. The other is the growing boycott of Kohler products.

The NLRB hearing is almost without precedent. The company faces a dozen charges brought by Board attorneys. More than three million words of direct testimony have been taken. The exhibits entered as evidence would fill a room. We believe the NLRB must rule that the company caused the strike and has pro-

Indicative of the employer's contempt for working people is the prison-like wall that surrounds the plant.



Other unions are demonstrating their support of the men and women who haven't faltered in the fight to win union conditions and union wages.

longed it by unfair labor practices, including the refusal to bargain in good faith.

That will assure the Kohler workers of their jobs, but this is a decision which is probably three years away. After the company has exhausted the appeals procedures within the NLRB framework, it is pretty sure to try to appeal any adverse decision all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Local 833 believes a much faster settlement can come from an effective boycott of Kohler Company plumbingware and electric engines. Four months ago Peter T. Schoemann, general president of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry, sent a letter to the entire membership of that union urging their full support in the boycott of Kohler goods. Unions all over America have passed resolutions in support of Local 833's campaign. We have assigned some of our most competent international representatives to work on this boycott. The result of all these moves has been a stirring demonstration of what can be achieved by labor unity, by working people working together.

The Kohler Company now has bathtubs piled three deep in areas where bathtubs have not been stacked in thirty years. It has built special

warehouses to hold bathtubs. Finally it has stopped the operation of some of its tub-making equipment.

This is the building season. The more help the striking Kohler workers now get, the more Kohler's sales are trimmed, the greater the pressure and the greater the likelihood of a contract.

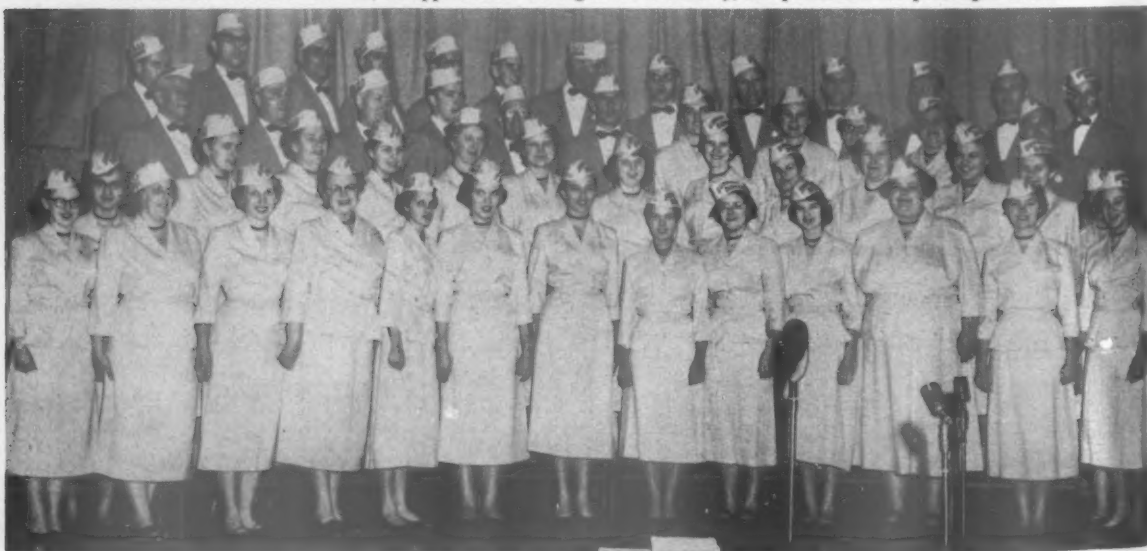
Already the company's position in the industry is way below what it was two years ago. The company got by the first spring of the strike because it had tubs stockpiled in readiness for it. One year ago the company had little left to sell, but it was able to sell all the scab-made ware it pro-

duced. This spring is another story. All over America, organized labor is generating the kind of pressure which can eventually lead to an honorable settlement.

The striking Kohler workers, knowing the fight may last many months yet, are finding other jobs. Some are relocating permanently. But all of them believe their strike is a crusade which must be won. The only alternative is defeat by a bully intent on forever dominating the lives of workers in the Sheboygan community.

With the help of united labor, they will be victorious in this crusade.

The Kohler Workers' Chorus, in appearances throughout the country, has publicized the prolonged strike.



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# We Are the Product of a Merger

By O. A. KNIGHT

*President, Oil, Chemical and Atomic  
Workers International Union*

**P**ROBABLY one of the most interesting facts about the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union is that it is the product of a merger and, as such, reflects in miniature many of the situations produced by merger of the AFL-CIO. The result of merging two former CIO unions—the Oil Workers International Union and the United Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers—the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers became an official entity on March 4, 1955.

As in the case of the merger of the two federations, preliminary talks were first held by top officers of both international unions. Conferences between the two executive boards then followed. The next step was the appointment of a joint committee of rank-and-file members which met in August, 1954, to draft a merger constitution. Ratification by the Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers followed at their regular convention in September, as did ratification by the Oil Workers just prior to a joint convention which made some constitutional amendments and then consummated the merger of the two internationals.

While holding similar viewpoints on most issues, the two unions had followed rather different methods of operation. The big task that faced the merged organization was putting into effect a single method of operation and administration for the merged Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers. In addition, there were the problems of blending two staffs into a smooth working team, assuming operations under a new name and revising more than 1,300 contracts to include the new name.

After a year of operation, this 200,000-member AFL-CIO affiliate can certainly say that virtually all the problems faced in the merger have been ironed out. The positive effect has been the creation of one strong organization better equipped



MR. KNIGHT

to serve the rank-and-file members. It is far better equipped to fulfill its responsibilities to its members and to the general public than either of the two predecessor unions could have fulfilled them separately.

In short, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union provides daily proof that merging two unions creates a new organization more able to live up to its belief that what's good for America is good for American labor. It is an organization able to function more effectively in organizing, bargaining, political action and community service.

The jurisdiction of OCAW derives from the fields of operation in which the two former internationals functioned and includes some of America's most prosperous and most rapidly expanding industries.

The Oil Workers International Union was first chartered by the AFL in 1918, under the name of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America. The original AFL charter brought together a number of federal labor unions located mostly in Texas and California. From that time on,

the oil union was one of the more "Western" unions in the labor movement. In those days the union's membership was predominantly oil field workers, but through the years membership concentration passed into the oil refineries.

Like many other unions, the Oil Workers suffered severely from the anti-labor conditions of the 1920s, and by the end of that troublesome decade membership had dropped to a few hundred. The union maintained a continuity of operations, however, and when labor organization obtained new encouragement in 1933, it rapidly expanded.

The Oil Workers were one of the original unions which established the CIO. The Oil Workers long had been advocates of industrial unionism.

While the union grew substantially during the Thirties, the greatest growth in membership, strength and importance came during the Forties. By the time of its merger with the United Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers, the Oil Workers International Union had passed the 100,000 mark.

**T**HE other half of OCAW—the former CIO Chemical Workers—began operations as an international in 1942, but the history of many of the union's locals traces back many years earlier. The United Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers were chartered by the CIO in 1942 at the request of a large number of local unions which had split off from District 50 of the United Mine Workers. District 50, in the decade preceding this event, had organized extensively in the chemical industry, with particular emphasis on those chemical plants utilizing coal by-products. But many of these locals became dissatisfied with the operations of District 50 and moved out of it, forming the nucleus for the new United Gas, Coke



## Plain Talk on Tension

**A FEW WEEKS AGO**, speaking at a meeting in Georgia, President O. A. Knight of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union lashed those who are stirring up racial hatred in the South.

At a session of his organization's District 9 held in Atlanta, Mr. Knight said:

"I would be derelict in my responsibilities to you as members of this union if I failed today to make some mention of a serious problem which threatens our union, particularly in the South. I refer to the racial tension which has been building up in recent weeks. I want to suggest to you that when you, as members of this union, are confronted with the problems and the discussions surrounding this racial tension, you bear in mind three things.

"First, remember the teachings of your religion. Don't let anyone convince you that there is one God for one race and a different God for another race. Second, remember you are citizens of the best country in the world, offering the greatest democracy and opportunity. Don't go against the laws of that country. Third, remember that you are members of this labor organization and that you have taken an obligation 'never to knowingly harm a fellow member.' That obligation applies to all, regardless of color."

Mr. Knight charged that among those who are agitating and stirring up racial hatred in the South are some of the most notorious labor-haters in the region. In support of this statement, he read off a list of leaders in the "White Citizens' Councils" who have long and conspicuous records of opposing unions.

"Don't let them tear your union apart," the president of OCAW said. "Nothing in the world has done so much for human beings as has organized labor in the past few years. It has brought people from abject poverty to comfortable well-being, and it has just got started. We still face a big job of organizing and of improving the wages and living standards of people who work for wages."

and Chemical Workers. The new international organized rapidly during the 1940s and had reached a size only slightly smaller than the Oil Workers by the time of the merger.

Some oil workers are members of the Operating Engineers and other AFL-CIO affiliates. However, OCAW represents far more oil workers than any other bonafide union. Too many oil workers are in independent or company unions.

In the chemical section of its jurisdiction, OCAW shares the field with the AFL-CIO International Chemical Workers Union. Membership of the two unions in the chemical industry is approximately equal. During recent months the two unions have co-operated increasingly in collective bargaining. Such cooperation has already brought substantial results,

as illustrated by recent negotiations with Colgate-Palmolive and the Monsanto Chemical Company. As early as the summer of 1955, preliminary overtures toward eventual merger of the two chemical unions were exchanged.

The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union is administered by six officers. Each of the prior unions had three officers. The writer, formerly the president of the Oil Workers, was unopposed for president of OCAW. T. M. McCormick, formerly secretary-treasurer of Oil, was likewise unopposed for the same position in OCAW. The four vice-presidents are Elwood D. Swisher, former Chemical president, and B. J. Schafer, former Oil vice-president, both unopposed; and Joseph Appelbaum and Jack Curran,

former Gas, Coke and Chemical district directors, who won election by a roll-call vote in a contest.

The executive board of the union consists of one rank-and-file member from each of sixteen geographical districts. These districts were so drawn as to give former Chemical Workers a majority in eight districts and former Oil Workers a majority in the other eight. When time for election came, however, the constituent members did not strictly follow prior affiliations in voting. Nine former Oil Workers and seven former Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers were elected. It is confidently believed now that in our elections next August former affiliations will have little bearing in the voting.

Distinct from the rank-and-file executive board is the administrative machinery hinging on an appointed district director in each district. These directors are appointed by the president with the approval of the executive board. Care was exercised to distribute the posts evenly, eight and eight, between former Oil and former Chemical men.

The union's principal goal is to complete the job of organizing the unorganized. Among the mass production industries, the union concedes, oil and chemicals are those having the most unorganized people.

In chemicals, workers now fall in at least five categories relative to organization. Some are in OCAW, and an approximately equal number are in the International Chemical Workers Union. Still others are in District 50. In addition, company unionism has a definite influence in the paternalistic chemical industry, particularly in the giant DuPont company. The fifth category is made up of the completely unorganized workers. OCAW's main goal is to organize the completely unorganized working people and those who are now in company unions.

In oil, large numbers of workers are found in independent or company unions, while some are unorganized. The presence of large groups of independent and company union members is attributable to the paternalistic attitude of the oil industry and the fact that the oil industry, through the "employee representation plan" of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was the originator of company unionism.

The Oil, Chemical and Atomic

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Workers International Union does not label all independent unions as company unions. It recognizes that in many plants what once may have been a company union has, through gradual evolution, become worthy of the name independent union. But OCAW does believe that even the best so-called independent union is incompetent to meet bargaining problems and is, if for no other reason than smallness and isolation, subject to undue influence by the companies.

The new OCAW is carrying on a moderate-sized organizing campaign now. A number of important plants in both oil and chemical industries have been added to OCAW ranks during its first year of operation. OCAW hopes to expand its organizing efforts greatly in line with the stated goals of AFL-CIO.

In collective bargaining, OCAW bows to no union in its accomplishments. In oil, wages and working conditions are the highest of any major mass production industry. In chemicals, year after year, substantial wage increases have been won and contracts providing good fringes and conditions have been negotiated. Chemical wages and conditions compare favorably, in most cases, with those in such industries as oil, steel, auto and rubber.

Few industrial unions have a membership as widely distributed throughout the United States and Canada as does OCAW. There are local unions in forty states. In Canada membership extends from Montreal to Vancouver.

In addition to industrial cities, small towns and country villages are home to a large percentage of OCAW members. This has had great influence on the union's effectiveness in civic affairs and political action. A given number of union members participating in these activities in a small town is more effective than the same number might be in a large city. But in both small towns and large cities, OCAW always has encouraged full participation by the locals in community affairs. This sort of activity not only has been worthy within itself, but also has been of value in improving the union's public relations and in increasing its effectiveness in political action.

These activities are a reflection of a basic philosophy which prevails

through OCAW—that trade unionism goes further than collective bargaining; it is a way of life. OCAW members, locals and the international pay considerable attention to those things which are sometimes labeled the "secondary objectives" of unionism; that is, political action, participation in civic and community affairs and, in general, the job of being good, active citizens. The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers believe that a good community to live in is important, as well as a good paycheck to spend.

This philosophy of trade unionism, OCAW members believe, definitely has brought about better community lift and wider public acceptance of the union.

It is on the basis of the background described above that OCAW moves confidently into its task of completing the organization of those unorganized remaining in its jurisdiction. This campaign will not be easy, for in most cases the major unorganized plants are citadels of paternalism and company or independent unionism. The oil and chemical companies are wealthy and very



much devoted to the theory that workers should be kept divided into small groups, rather than organized into strong national unions. The companies are relatively generous in spending money to forestall real union organization.

But in the long run oil and chemical workers now unorganized will see the advantages of organization in a strong national union. OCAW offers the kind of organization which should appeal to these unorganized people and already is making measurable strides toward full organization.

## A Union Medical Center

THE story of what is now the St. Louis Labor Health Institute was outlined recently by Dr. William A. Sawyer, medical consultant, International Association of Machinists. He writes a column for the Machinists' weekly newspaper.

"Members turned to the union for help," Dr. Sawyer related. "The union lent them \$1000. At first they only had space in a doctor's office.

"Through collective bargaining, their employers agreed to contribute 3½ per cent of their payroll costs to the medical program. This was for care for members only. Soon, however, it was discovered that a worker cannot be entirely well if his family is ill and that the best medical care requires the family to be treated as a whole.

"In 1947 plans were made to include both the union member and his entire family. To pay for this a 5 per cent employer contribution was negotiated. By June, 1952, all but nine of the 200 employers with Teamster contracts had put the 5 per cent plan into effect.

"These funds have enabled the union members to own a modern building with \$100,000 worth of equipment. Five per cent of the program's total income goes into an expansion fund. Ten per cent goes into a reserve fund, which amounts to \$500,000 at the present time.

"The Institute now offers to its 14,000 members health services second to none in the country. The Institute is a monument to those men—union officers, doctors and dentists—who have given continuous devotion to its development."

### East German Workers Still Trying to Catch Up

The average East German worker is still trying to catch up despite more than a decade of the dubious blessings of communism. A recent survey showed that the purchasing power of the East German worker's average earnings in seven major industries runs between 20 and 25 per cent less than that of a West German worker.

# ANG Has Come a Long Way

By JOSEPH F. COLLIS  
President, American Newspaper Guild

**T**HE American Newspaper Guild and its members have come a long way since the Guild's birth in the great depression of the 1930s.

The Guild came into being at a time when it was most needed—when the seven-day workweek was not uncommon and the average weekly wage of a reporter was \$29.47, an average which included a few high-priced columnists and a lot of \$6 and \$10 a week legmen.

Since then newspaper workers, through the Guild, have won, among other things:

- ▶ Salary guarantees as high as \$141.50.

- ▶ Severance pay of two weeks' salary for every year of service.

- ▶ Four-week vacations in contracts covering about half the membership.

- ▶ Shorter, regular hours (more than one-third of the membership has a workweek under forty hours).

- ▶ Paid sick leave.

- ▶ And, above all, security in their jobs which has enabled them to live decently, look with confidence to the future and abolish the Hollywood stereotype of newspapermen as a breed apart—devil-may-care, poor but happy drunks.

Beyond these material gains, the American Newspaper Guild itself has made marked advances as a union. And it is proud of the things which mark it as a union—not merely the basic interest in wages and working conditions, but identification with all other workers in the labor movement. It has, for example, negotiated contract protections permitting members to refuse to handle struck work or cross picket lines of other newspaper unions. And it has cooperated with other unions in the industry in the formation of local councils of newspaper unions and the development of new and militant techniques, like strike papers.

Before the Guild, as far back as 1891, newswriters had made scattered attempts to organize themselves, chiefly along professional lines pat-



MR. COLLIS

terned after the Bar Association and the Medical Society. There were even some editorial unions formed under the auspices of the International Typographical Union, two of which—Scranton and Milwaukee—survived to become Guild locals. But for the most part, reporters, photographers and copyreaders held themselves aloof from any association which might resemble a union. They preferred to starve in imagined splendor rather than sit down at the common table.

Then came the depression with its rapid succession of pay cuts. Editorial employes across the country woke up together to the realization that the boys in the back shops now were earning 30 and 40 per cent more than they were. Publishers were sympathetic but, they said, they had to economize somewhere.

"And the crafts are organized," they explained. "We have to honor their contracts."

The moral was not lost. New editorial organizations sprang up, first in Cleveland, then in other major cities. In New York they found their leader. On August 7, 1933, Heywood Broun, one of the best-paid and most successful columnists of his time, wrote the following words in the *New York World-Telegram*:

"The fact that newspaper editors and owners are genial folk should hardly stand in the way of the organization of a newspaper writers' union. There should be one. Beginning at nine o'clock on the morning of October 1, I am going to do the best I can to help in getting one up."

He did, and on the following December 15 twenty-nine delegates representing editorial groups in forty-five cities met in Washington to form the American Newspaper Guild, electing Broun as its first president.

The Guild was greeted with widespread skepticism. Labor leaders who had witnessed earlier attempts to organize newswriters doubted it would last. Publishers were confident it would not. They knew their reporters as carefree individualists, who could scarcely sit still long enough to complete a poker hand, let alone organize a union.

"There really was a general feeling that we were curiously gifted bohemians," wrote Broun, "and that it was almost a lark to be broke between pay days."

At first the Guild tried to go it alone. Those who thought it should be a union ran head-on into the gentlemen of the press who favored a professional society. The very name "Guild" instead of "union" was a compromise. As a result, the Guild started out as a loose confederation of local unions without any rules of procedure. Collective bargaining was every local—if not every man—for itself. The principal activity of the national organization was to press, without much success, for coverage of editorial workers by the NRA's code for the newspaper industry.

By the time of the Guild's first constitutional convention in St. Paul in June, 1934, its members had had enough of groping along by themselves. They committed themselves to a course of collective unionism and established the beginnings of the union structure which the Guild maintains today. This move was



hailed by one labor writer as "the first major step toward trade unionism of any large group of so-called white collar workers in the United States."

The opposition of publishers did as much as anything else to confirm the ANG membership as unionists. At the St. Paul convention only one local was able to report the signing of a contract. And earlier that year, Harvey J. Kelly, chairman of the special standing committee on labor relations of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, had advised ANPA's several hundred member publishers not to sign contracts with the Guild, warning:

"Do not be misled by the fact that the contract is presented by a Guild instead of by a union. A rose by any other name, etc."

As a full-fledged union, using traditional union bargaining techniques, the American Newspaper Guild began to experience more success. There were strikes—the first major one at the Newark *Ledger*. And a few more contracts were signed, after the first one at the Philadelphia *Record*. But success came haltingly and slowly. By 1936 the Guild's sixty-seven locals had won a grand total of but thirteen contracts, and the realization grew that the newswriters could no longer go it alone as unionists. Even as early as the St. Paul convention in 1934, a large segment of the membership had favored affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; some members even advocated industrial unionism.

Finally, in 1936, the Guild did affiliate with the AFL, after an overwhelmingly favorable vote in a national referendum. Affiliation had an immediate bolstering effect. Within a year the number of Guild locals rose to eighty-eight, the number of contracts increased to forty-five and the membership doubled to 10,209.

Within the AFL, under the militant leadership of Broun, the young Guild quickly joined the Committee for Industrial Organization. Not only were editorial workers losing their aloofness to the rest of the labor movement, but they were also growing more and more aware that their interests were allied with other newspaper workers, hitherto unorganized. Moreover, the sad experience of bitterly fought strikes had by now taught them that alone they had little economic

strength; that newswriters by themselves could not easily shut a paper down in order to enforce their demands for decent hours and pay.

In 1937, again by national referendum, the Guild voted to broaden its base, expanding its jurisdiction to cover newspaper workers in the advertising, business, circulation, maintenance and promotion departments as well as the editorial department and to affiliate formally with the CIO.

Again there was immediate progress. Membership climbed 60 per cent in the first year to more than 16,000 and Guild locals had ninety contracts across the country.

Now, as the American Newspaper Guild takes part in the united AFL-CIO, once more there is a feeling of invigoration. There is renewed determination to organize the unorganized of the industry and to advance the general economic and social level of all newspaper workers.

The Guild brings a mature organization into the AFL-CIO. Still young by the standards of many unions, in its twenty-three years it has pioneered in the solution of problems once peculiar to white-collar unionism. As noted before, it has won preservation

of an employee's equity in his job through the payment of severance pay when he loses that job, typically two weeks' pay for each year of service. And to allow for the recognition of merit in an industry where individual abilities vary greatly, the Guild negotiates minimum salaries rather than set scales.

ANG entered the AFL-CIO with 27,550 members, about a third of its estimated jurisdiction in the United States and Canada. The membership is covered by 205 separate contracts with newspapers, news magazines, wire services, news and feature syndicates and radio and television stations. The papers with which it has contracts—papers like the New York *Times*, the Washington *Post* and *Times-Herald*, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, the San Francisco *Chronicle*—represent nearly half the total daily newspaper circulation in this country and Canada. And the contracts provide minimum weekly salaries of up to \$141.50 for reporters, photographers and display advertising salesmen; \$125.50 for circulation district managers; \$115.50 for classified ad solicitors; \$76.70 for stenographers and switchboard operators.



Heywood Broun, famous New York columnist of the Twenties and Thirties, felt that the time had come for newspapermen to become trade unionists.



This is the Newspaper Guild's International Executive Board. The union recently moved its headquarters to Washington.

These figures are a far cry from pre-Guild newspaper salaries. But they were not achieved without struggle—within and without the union.

Once the Guild showed signs of staying power, the American Newspaper Publishers Association opposed it with every available weapon. Publishers declared that editorial unionism was a threat to freedom of the press. But the Supreme Court pointed out the absurdity of this argument in upholding the constitutionality of the Wagner Act.

"The publisher of a newspaper has no special immunity from the application of general laws," the court held.

The publishers then expressed the fear that Guild membership would lead to the slanting of news in favor of labor. But none of them has yet been able to produce evidence of a single instance of such slanting. They seem to have retained enough control of their papers to keep their own anti-labor sentiments showing.

On the picket lines, there was goonism, especially flagrant in the long and bitter struggle against the Hearst chain's efforts to break the Guild in the Thirties. Added to these difficulties was the very nature of the newspaper industry, which made necessary the negotiation of separate contracts with each paper, most of which were small, isolated local monopolies.

The labor education of newspaper workers was progressing. Victory and lasting recognition of the Guild were

achieved, its members realized, only with the support and cooperation of other unions. This assistance when it was most needed helped shape the Guild's own policies of inter-union cooperation in the industry and led to the negotiation by Guild locals of picket-line and struck-work clauses.

Even before the AFL-CIO merger, the American Newspaper Guild encouraged its locals to participate in councils of newspaper unions in their communities. This year-round cooperation, it found, resulted in greater mutual understanding, greater efficiency in the exchange of bargaining information and greater solidarity in times of crisis, like the recent Detroit Stereotypers' strike, the New York Photo-Engravers' strike in 1954, the Rockford ITU strike in 1952 and the Guild's New York *World-Telegram* strike in 1950. The Guild continues, too, its policy of paying strike benefits to members who refuse to cross the picket lines of other newspaper unions.

Inter-union cooperation during strikes also has paid off in the development of a unique strike technique by the Guild and the crafts—the strike newspaper, most recent example of which was the highly successful *Detroit Reporter*, published jointly by the Guild and the Allied Printing Trades Council of Detroit while the city's three major dailies were shut down. Strike papers have accomplished many things. They perform a public service and give evidence

that the newspapers unions are genuinely concerned with the people's right to know. They give local merchants an outlet for their advertising when other newspapers are shut down. And they serve as a lever against adamant publishers.

While the American Newspaper Guild advanced in wisdom and age, it was meeting internal problems, too. One such problem was that of penetration by extreme left-wing elements.

By 1938 it had become evident to a large segment of the Guild's membership that the national administration of the union had been taken over by these extremists. Finally, after a three-year fight for control, the 1941 convention revised the Guild's constitution to provide for national elections by referendum. And the referendum produced a clean sweep, electing an entire new administration dedicated to sound trade union principles.

A point of pride among all Guildsmen is the fact that they accomplished this house-cleaning through democratic means—an election in which every member was given a vote—thus putting into practice the principles of democracy which are the foundation of the Guild's constitution.

One continuing example of this democracy in action is the ANG's official publication, *The Guild Reporter*, whose columns are open to every paid-up member. Newspaper workers have a vested interest in freedom of the press and freedom of speech and strong inclinations to

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sound off about anything they don't like. When it's the Guild's administration they're sounding off about, it sometimes makes for worried officers—but in the long run for a better union.

The Guild's primary purpose is to advance the economic interests of its members. But from the beginning it has also concerned itself with raising the level of newspapering or, more specifically, as its constitution states, "to guarantee, as far as it is able, constant honesty in the news, to raise the standards of journalism and ethics of the industry."

The qualifier in this statement—"as far as it is able"—is an important one. For in the final analysis, it is the publisher who determines how good and how honest his newspaper shall be.

Even within this limitation, however, the American Newspaper Guild has made a substantial contribution to the improvement of the industry. And many publishers, in some cases grudgingly, have said so. In its contracts, for example, the Guild protects reporters against the use of their bylines over their objections, permits legitimate outside activities of employees while safeguarding the publisher and his newspaper against exploitation, encourages leaves of absences for professional fellowships and scholarships, and guarantees the writer or photographer a share of the proceeds from the reuse and syndication of his work.

Most important, however, is that simply by raising salaries and improving the working conditions of newspapermen everywhere—by making the industry a more attractive place to work in—the Guild has raised the caliber of newspaper workers and the level of newspaper work. Publishers demand more when they have to pay more.

The Guild, in addition, takes pride in:

- ▶ Its code of ethics for the guidance of newspapermen, adopted as early as 1934.

- ▶ Its leadership in the withdrawal of Western journalists from the International Organization of Journalists, after it had been captured by the Communists, and its role in the establishment of the non-Communist International Federation of Journalists.

- ▶ Its Heywood Broun Memorial Award, rewarding journalistic enter-

prise and initiative, and its encouragement of regional and local awards for excellence in reporting, writing and photography.

- ▶ Advanced classes and workshops in reporting, writing and editing, conducted by such locals as Cleveland and Cincinnati; annual lectures on press performance like those in Toledo and Minneapolis-St. Paul; scholarships in journalism awarded to deserving students by the Detroit, Youngstown and Duluth locals, among many.

- ▶ Its special study of the supply and cost of newsprint and their role in the contraction of the newspaper industry.

Not to forget the accomplishments of individual Guild members themselves, like Marquis Childs, Hal Boyle, Joe Rosenthal, the Alsop brothers, Doris Fleeson, James Marlowe, Murray Kempton, Herblock, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Abe Raskin, Ed Lahey and hundreds more. Some sixty Guild members have won Pulitzer prizes and more than 60 per cent of the Nieman fellows have been Guild members.

These individuals have contributed a great deal to the Guild in time, work, prestige and frequently active participation in its councils. We like to think the Guild, in return, has contributed something of value to them.

We like to think, too, that the Guild has contributed something to the labor press, as well as the daily press. Most observers agree that the improvement in union newspapers in the last twenty-five years has been remarkable. Guild members them-

selves are at least partly responsible for that progress. Since the Guild first became a part of the labor movement back in 1933, more and more of its members have turned to labor journalism as a more satisfying outlet for their talents and experience. And more and more unions have turned to the Guild as a recruiting ground for their newspaper and publicity staffs.

On the local level, many Guilds and Guildsmen have contributed their time and services as writers, editors and publicists to other unions endeavoring to spread their story in times of strikes, etc. CIO councils in many areas also have found the skills of Guild members valuable in their public relations programs. We would like to see more of this. It is the type of thing the Guild can offer to the whole labor movement, beyond its mere participation, and we suggest that other AFL-CIO unions consider the Guild and its locals a reservoir of advice and assistance in meeting public relations problems.

We offer these services, to be sure, not without some self-interest. For we know that the future of the Guild depends in large measure on the assistance and support it gets from its fellow unions. We have a lot of work ahead. Many thousands of newspaper workers, those most in need of a union, still are unorganized; and there still is much to be won in better wages and shorter hours.

We think that with help we can achieve our goals. And we know that as part of the AFL-CIO, we'll get the help.

## Attention, Ladies!

If you want the best possible value for your money—and, of course, you do—be sure that you spend the family's dollars only on those goods and services that definitely merit a trade unionist's patronage. In other words, whenever you buy anything, make it a point to look for and insist upon the union label, the union shop card and the union service button.

Union-made goods and union-performed services are tops in value. Today, more than ever before, we all want more for our money. And you can get more—and easily—by remembering just one simple rule . . .

**ALWAYS BUY UNION!**



# Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►James B. Carey, AFL-CIO vice-president, has told the National Conference on International Economic and Social Development, meeting in Washington, that the imagination and inspiration of the Point Four program have been given "too little flesh and blood." The United States "cannot afford the luxury of improvising answers to each move of the Russians after it occurs," he said.

►Thousands of workers at Pamplona, Spain, challenged the labor laws of the Franco regime in a city-wide strike April 10. Under the present Spanish government, workers are forbidden to strike. The walkout was begun by the shoe workers in protest against a meager wage increase granted recently by the government.

►The Connecticut Manufacturers Association filed suit April 10 challenging the legality of the guaranteed wage plan. The employers' organization described its move in Superior Court, aimed at the supplementary pay plan first won by the United Auto Workers, as a "friendly" suit.

►Wage gains for 500 workers have been achieved by Local 56, Butcher Workmen, in new contracts with four canneries in Southern New Jersey. Pay rates were increased for employees of Ritter's, Minot's, Hunt's and Uddo Taormina.

►Higher wages and other improvements have been won by Locals 40 and 85 of the International Chemical Workers in negotiations with the Pacific Coast Borax Company, Wilmington and Boron, Calif.

►Local 6, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, New York City, recently held a three-day convention. The meeting, called "the most spirited in the union's history," was attended by 409 delegates.

►Wage increases have been won by Local 92, Furniture Workers, at the Summit Chemical Company, Elizabeth, N. J. Paid vacations and other gains are provided in the agreement, which came after a four-week strike.

►William Parsons and G. A. Anderson, members of Local 49 of the Operating Engineers, Minneapolis, since 1906, were honored at a party and given gold membership cards. When they joined the union a half-century ago, pay was \$4 for a nine-hour day, they recalled.

►The Commercial Telegraphers Union has notified Western Union that CTU members employed by the company want a fair share of the record-breaking profits the firm chalked up in 1955. The company's net profits last year were the highest in twenty-five years.

►The Utility Workers have won a contract with Consumers Power Company, operating in Michigan, which provides a total package estimated at 25 cents an hour in wage increases and other benefits over a two-year period.

►A wage increase and classification adjustments have been gained by Local 16-595, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, in a new contract with the British American Oil Company, Moose Jaw, Sask., Canada.

►Local 234, Transport Workers, has obtained a package worth more than 25 cents an hour and a full union shop through reopening its contract with the Philadelphia Transportation Company.

►A 20-cent hourly increase and additional wage boosts in 1957 and 1958 have been gained at the Brown Corporation in Ionia, Mich., by Local 420, Furniture Workers.

►The Ladies' Label League of Bradford, Pa., recently observed its fifty-fifth anniversary at a luncheon meeting.

►Hourly wage increases have been obtained by Local 423, Utility Workers Union, at the Elizabeth Water Company, Elizabeth, N. J.

►Local 315, Teamsters, has signed up Brandstad-Doherty-Reuland, Inc., a tire distributor at Pittsburg, Calif.

►A scholarship, worth \$1000 a year for four years, is given annually to a son or daughter of a member of Local 6, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, in New York City. The winner of the first award, in 1954, was Charlotte Kratzer, now studying art at Cooper Union. Last year's winner, Anthony Yiavasis, is a pre-medical student at Columbia University.

►The call for the next international convention of the Communications Workers has been issued. The convention will be held in the Cleveland Public Auditorium during the week of June 11. President J. A. Beirne has suggested discussion of the idea of holding international conventions every two years instead of annually.

►Higher wages for 32,000 workers employed at North American Aviation plants in Los Angeles, Fresno and Columbus, Ohio, have been won by the United Auto Workers. Additional insurance benefits were also gained.

►Wage increases and improvements in conditions were won by Local 488, International Chemical Workers, in a new two-year contract negotiated with American Cyanamid Company, Mobile, Ala.

►The oldest union member in attendance at the recent Labor School of the Texas State Federation of Labor was Neal A. Hawkinson, 83, of El Paso. He joined Local 399 of the Operating Engineers in 1890.

►Local 1064, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, has won hourly wage increases at the cafeteria of the Chrysler jet plant, Warren, Mich.

►The Building and Construction Trades Council of Lancaster, Pa., has elected Raymond E. Maxwell as president and Richard Barnett as secretary.

►Local 144 of the Teamsters, Terre Haute, Ind., has negotiated a new three-year agreement with the Terre Haute Linen Supply Company.

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▶A 12½-cent hourly wage increase covering 2,000 workers at the Forstmann Woolen Company plants in New Jersey has been negotiated by the Textile Workers Union of America. The new one-year contract between the company and union also calls for increased hospitalization and insurance and a seventh paid holiday.

▶Measures to protect the health and job security of employes of atomic installations were recommended at a recent meeting of Local 9-288, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, at Oak Ridge, Tenn. The speaker was O. A. Knight, the union's international president.

Local 275 of the Painters in Chicago recently celebrated its sixtieth anniversary. Fifty-year membership emblems were presented to old-timers by William H. Rohrberg, international

secretary-treasurer. More than 700 members attended the celebration.

▶A \$4925 settlement for an injured member has been won by Local 11-456 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers. The check was received by Joseph Fowler, 64, who was injured on the job at the Aurora Gasoline Company, Fowler, Mich.

▶Employes of the Fletcher Paper Company, Alpena, Mich., chose the United Paperworkers of America as their collective bargaining agent in an election conducted by the National Labor Relations Board.

▶Wage increases have been won by the Communications Workers at the Kansas State Telephone Company. The advance was made under a re-opener provision in the agreement between the union and the employer.

▶Fifty-nine members of the Steelworkers and the estates of two others are sharing \$200,000 in back pay. These workers were discriminated against in a strike at the Textile Machine Works, Reading, Pa. The NLRB decision favoring them has been upheld by the Court of Appeals.

▶Local 75, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, has won a wage increase at the Continental Grain Company in Houston, Tex. A company-paid retirement plan and severance program are other features of the contract.

▶Local 7, Teamsters, was victorious in an election at the St. Julian Wine Company, Paw Paw, Mich.

▶The Eastern Seaboard Apprenticeship Conference is scheduled to open April 22 at Swampscott, Mass.

## We Will Do the Job

(Continued from Page 3)

industries now kindle and direct against organized labor so that they might dictate their 1956 model of economic servitude.

Such dictation can only flourish in an atmosphere devoid of unionism and union influences, and so these anti-labor employers proceed to resist labor's organizational efforts at any price—even if the price is fanning the flame of hatred and prejudice, thereby aiding the international Communists to outbid the United States in the marketplace of ideas throughout the world.

THE foregoing facts constitute some of the negatives in the case for organizing—the things that excite effort because they must be overcome if we are to progress. There are many positive factors that can serve as an even greater incentive. A few of them can be found in Article II of the AFL-CIO constitution, entitled "Objects and Principles": "To aid workers in securing improved wages, hours and working conditions \* \* \*. To aid and assist \* \* \* in extending the benefits of mutual assistance \* \* \*. To encourage all workers without regard to race, creed or color \* \* \*. To secure legislation which will safeguard and promote the prin-

ciple of free collective bargaining \* \* \*. To protect and strengthen our democratic institutions \* \* \*. To give constructive aid in promoting the cause of peace and freedom in the world."

These are the positive goals. How are they to be attained?

The establishment of the merged labor movement represents a great stride forward. Unity in labor holds out the promise of an end to wasteful strife and inefficient duplication of effort. It means concentration of energy and resources for maximum results.

In the task of securing legislation, a single voice representing organized workers must be more effective than many voices, often in discord. United action in the political field must be more productive of success at the polls. Labor's contribution to peace and freedom in the world and to social justice must be greater coming from a unified source.

But labor's legislative and political power and its ability to influence the course of domestic and international affairs depend, ultimately, on the state of its economic organization. Legislation can be passed or defeated, political elections can be won or lost—the labor movement will

survive if it maintains its expanding organizational base. If that base is weakened, however, or its normal growth impeded, labor's survival will be jeopardized. Its legislative, political and social effectiveness will vanish as its economic strength wanes.

From the standpoint of every interest of organized labor there is, thus, a direct dependence upon organizing.

We have a trained field staff, skilled in organizing techniques, possessing the knowledge and the understanding necessary to successful organizing. We have research staffs geared to serve all our organizing research needs.

We have millions of members in affiliated unions willing to assist our organizers in whatever manner circumstances indicate. We have union publications, union-sponsored radio and television programs—all the effective means of communication—and dedicated persons competent in those fields.

There comes to my desk daily evidence of the pressing desire of working men and women in every section of the country to have their industry, their plant, their jobs organized. We know where the bastions of non-organized strength are. We know the industries, the plant locations, the number of workers involved.

We are stepping up our program to meet today's organizational needs.

# WHAT THEY SAY

**Walter P. Reuther, vice-president, AFL-CIO**—We would like nothing



better than to be able to work constructively with all groups in America in building that better world in which peace and freedom could be made secure, a world in which we could banish war and man's inhumanity to man forever. We want a decent educational system. We want to wipe out the slums so that every family can live in a decent house, in a wholesome neighborhood. We want social security so that our old people can share economic security and human dignity in the last years of their lives. We want adequate medical care. We want the things that the American people want. We want to join with Americans in all walks of life in proving that America—the last best hope of free men everywhere—is worthy of the leadership of the free world. This is the first time in the history of human civilization where we have the tools of abundance with which to conquer poverty and hunger, disease and ignorance, and man's other ancient enemies. It is the task of the American labor movement to provide positive leadership in finding a way so that free men, instead of struggling to divide up economic scarcity, can find new forms of cooperation in the glorious opportunity of creating and sharing economic abundance.

**A. L. Spradling, president, Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees**—Our policy is to offer to arbitrate all disputes where negotiations fail—to arbitrate fairly and without any strings attached.



Our union went through years of difficult struggles before we finally persuaded most of our managements that voluntary arbitration was the

sensible and decent way to settle our differences when we could not work them out at the bargaining table. Today we are again facing resistance by some of the employers in our industry. Some of the people who have come into the transit business of late have deliberately provoked strikes. One large holding company, which has become a transit colossus in the last decade, is opposed to arbitration. This company has provoked some strikes in order to force the purchase of its properties. Another problem which we face is repressive legislation. With the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act and hostile state legislation, and with the new type of administration by the National Labor Relations Board, we find ourselves up against the same problems we faced in the darkest days before the New Deal. So-called "right to work" laws and equally infamous public utility seizure laws which have been enacted in a number of states in recent years are destructive of free collective bargaining and of voluntary arbitration.

**Averell Harriman, Governor of New York**—At last year's summit



conference in Geneva, our President was quoted as crediting the Russians with no less a desire for peace than that of the West. As a result of this, there occurred a psychological disarmament throughout the free world. At the summit conference the Kremlin achieved relaxation of tension and relaxation of effort. At Geneva and since Geneva, the Kremlin leaders have achieved a major political breakthrough. There are many things we must do to rally and strengthen the free peoples. In addition to maintaining military defenses, we must identify ourselves with the hopes and aspirations of people everywhere. We need a great remarshaling of America's strength, will and talent to bear down on the job of helping other people to help themselves. They need technical and economic assistance, but

they need as well assistance in organizing and developing those institutions essential to free society. In this endeavor American labor has a vital role to play. Labor is in a position to bring effectively the American message to those who are desperately struggling to lift themselves out of poverty and to convince them that the false promises of communism will bring them only a new bondage.

**Clifford P. Case, Senator from New Jersey**—It is inconceivable, at this



point in our history, that the American people should refuse to accept the determination of our Supreme Court on a question involving the interpretation of the Constitution. Like other Americans, I have been increasingly distressed by developments in some of our states since the Supreme Court decisions on public school integration. Those of us who have the high honor to sit in the Senate of the United States have a special responsibility and obligation. Whatever our individual views, we are all agreed, I am sure, that nothing would be more harmful to the interests of the country as a whole, nothing more destructive of the whole fabric of our way of life, than for extremism to gain full sway. And I submit that there has been a dangerous trend in this direction. The problems that preoccupy some of our Southern states are real. The answers will not be easy. But I do not believe the problems are inherently insoluble. Our children, wherever they live and whatever their color or race, take the same pledge of allegiance to "one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." Implicit in this, I believe, is our pledge not just to refrain from overt defiance of the law but to accept in good faith the workings of our constitutional processes. Let me urge that we give this problem the earnest, dispassionate attention which it deserves. Let us each, in every way open to us, make clear that the extremists will not have their way, that men of good will and moderate temper can and will work out the problems involved in complying with the law if they really want to do so.



# Can't a Girl Be President?

"THERE isn't a speck of truth in what he says!" snapped Anne Finch, her eyes blazing. "Oh, I'm going to set him back on his heels for that!"

"Listen, kid," said her friend, Howard Meyers, "you better cool off a little before you do anything. You can't let yourself get so steamed up over a rumor."

"Can't I?" Anne stamped her foot. "You listen to me, Howard. I want you to tell that fellow I mean to beat him to a frazzle in the election. I will, too." Then she broke into a smile and, in a quieter voice, said: "I guess I don't need to be fighting mad at you, do I?"

"No, you don't. I'm just the innocent bystander."

It was the last month of school. The officers for the following year were to be elected by the school organizations. The Junior Union was no exception. The outgoing officers were seniors, with the exception of the treasurer, Bob Collins, who was a junior. Anne's anger had been aroused by a report that Bob was going to run for the presidency and had made disparaging remarks. Anne had announced her own candidacy for that office a few days earlier. She had heard that Bob had laughed at her candidacy.

"Why a girl for president?" he had wanted to know. "Anne has a lot of ability, but I can't see the presidency as a job for a girl."

Jim Carnes, the committee chairman, disagreed with Bob.

"Why not a girl?" demanded Jim. "Plenty of women are working these days. My mother has been working ever since I can remember. My sister works, too. Your own sister got a job as soon as she got out of college. So if women can hold jobs in the business world and hold offices in trade unions, I don't see why a qualified



They waited to hear the results.

girl can't make a fine president of our own Junior Union."

Bob Collins listened but remained unconvinced. His name and Anne's were formally posted as candidates for the office of Junior Union president, Maxwell High School. The time passed quickly, and soon the organization elections were only days away. The various campaigns went into high gear. At noon each day the auditorium and the gymnasium were in use for campaign oratory, and some of the smaller groups met in conference rooms to hear their candidates. The largest organization was the Junior Union, and it held its one big rally in the school auditorium the day before the voting.

With Jim Carnes presiding, the rally got under way. Under the rules, each candidate was given ten minutes. After all the candidates had spoken, anyone else could speak in support of his or her favorite.

"We want Anne Finch! We want Anne Finch!" chanted Anne's supporters.

From the other side of the hall came the answering shouts:

"We want Bob Collins! We want Bob Collins!"

The chairman gavelled for order. He had to hammer several times before he got what he wanted.

Anne, in her speech, praised the outgoing administration. She held her promises down.

"My worthy opponent has been a splendid treasurer," she said. "I would even go so far as to renominate him for treasurer, but I am hoping to place the office of the presidency beyond his reach. He may promise you the moon. I can't do that. I only promise you a good administration, under the constitution of the Junior Union—fair play and democracy for all."

Bob's appeal for votes followed. It was an excellent speech. He did not pledge to deliver the moon, but he made the future look very rosy.

The votes were cast the following day. The tellers were kept busy checking the names of the voters against the membership lists of the various organizations. Balloting was heavy. At the close of the day, all the ballot boxes were locked in the principal's office. The results were not to be announced until the next morning's special assembly.

THE auditorium was crowded with students eager to know the outcome of the various contests. Every seat was occupied and there were many standees. The tension was great. The tellers marched into the auditorium and took their places on the platform.

It was a breath-taking moment when the principal asked the chief teller of the Junior Union for the tally sheet showing the results of that organization's elections.

"The new president of the Junior Union," he said, "is Anne Finch."

There was a deafening cheer from the front of the auditorium, and the chant broke out: "We want Anne! We want Anne!" Then a response came from the center of the hall, where Bob Collins and his supporters sat. Good-naturedly, they chanted: "We have Anne! We'll take Anne! We want Anne, too!"

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